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# USSR Report

KOMMUNIST

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## USSR REPORT

### KOMMUNIST

No 6, April 1986

[Translation of KOMMUNIST, the Russian-language theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).]

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EDITORIAL -- GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT OF CONTEMPORARY MARXIST-LENINIST THOUGHT.  
ARTICLE 1

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[Text] No more than one and a half months have passed since the end of the 27th CPSU Congress--a historical event in the life our party, country and all progressive mankind. The Soviet people undertook the energetic implementation of the resolutions adopted at the congress. The energy of the acceleration is being translated into practical work, work in a new style, with the type of initiative and creativity which the Leninist party demands of us. The party set the example of such work. The tremendous creative potential contained in the resolutions in the 27th Congress must be assessed and applied even more firmly. We must also interpret the resolutions and theoretical accomplishments of Marxist-Leninist science, contained above all in the Central Committee political report, presented by M.S. Gorbachev, the new edition of the party program and other documents, in a profound dialectical manner. "One can see more from a distance...." This is true. Our time, however, is one of truly revolutionary change. The dynamism of the acceleration and the urgency of resolving vital problems give us no right to be slow or, actually, to draw hasty conclusions and engage in hasty actions.

We must reveal, not the for the sake of verbal ostentation but of real accomplishments, which are so greatly needed today, all the new theoretical and political features contained in the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress and, on that basis, draw the proper conclusions needed for further progress. That is how the party presents the problem, a presentation which is entirely consistent with the Leninist style in politics and theory.

### Leninism in Action

Most generally speaking, we can see the way the CPSU is resolving the following closely interrelated problems objectively raised by life itself and determined by the internal and external factors of the present stage in the development of socialism and the world at large: 1. What to do? 2. Why, to what purpose? 3. How? 4. By whom? Clearly, the first question is the key one, and the party has provided a scientific answer to it: acceleration. The answer to the second question is also clearly formulated by the party in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist tradition of real humanism, which provides a political and human assessment of the nature of the ways and means of practical action, chosen in accordance with the ideals and values of

socialism and communism. The answer to the third question derives from the answers to the first two. Science and practical experience and the initiative and activities of the masses play the utmost role in its solution. Finally, the last (but by no means the least!) question which is, perhaps, the most difficult, for it is a matter of man himself, his labor qualities, consciousness, self-awareness, culture and morality, can be answered as follows: promoting the human factor in the acceleration.

Correspondingly, the creative contribution made by the CPSU to Marxist-Leninist theory was manifested, first of all, in the precise scientifically substantiated definition of the main, the basic problems of our age, and the proof of why precisely these problems are assuming priority today, in establishing the inner interrelationship among them and finding the optimal ways, means and methods for their solution. This enabled us to lay a firm theoretical foundation under the conceptual base of the party's general line at the present complex and conflicting historical stage. Second, the creative collective thought of the party implemented, in accordance with the basic scientific and humanistic principles of Marxism-Leninism, dictated by the new conditions and characteristics of the contemporary stage of socialist development, the theoretical and political changes in thoughts and actions. This made it possible to establish a new hierarchy of priorities, manifested in the extremely clearly emphasized significance of the sociocultural sphere and the role of man and the human factor in accelerating the country's economic development on the basis of scientific and technical progress.

It is precisely this type of creative approach that we describe as Leninism in action. That is why progressive mankind rates the congress' documents as the greatest accomplishments of contemporary Marxist-Leninist thought. This emphasizes both the innovative nature and continuity of the theoretical summations and conclusions drawn at the 27th Party Congress, the congress of the party of living, creative Marxism-Leninism.

The materials of the 27th CPSU Congress include the exceptionally important conclusion of the need to formulate under contemporary domestic and international conditions a new way of thinking, a new mentality, a new value orientation, without which today it would be simply impossible successfully to resolve the various problems of acceleration of socioeconomic development of Soviet society, ensure the further strengthening of the positions of world socialism and remove the threat to the very existence of mankind. "It is precisely that specific economic and political situation in which we find ourselves, precisely that particular stretch in the historical process covered by Soviet society and the entire world, that demand of the party, of every party member, creativity, innovativeness and the ability to go beyond the confines of customary yet already obsolete concepts," the CPSU Central Committee report to the congress reads.

The new way of thinking, new mentality and new value orientation are manifested in their entire magnitude in the fundamental and truthful analysis of the country's domestic situation, the nobility and daring of theoretical thinking, expressed in a concentrated fashion in the concepts and strategies of acceleration and the formulations by the 27th Congress of specific primary and long-term goals which, briefly stated, are aimed at the accelerated and

efficient utilization of the basic advantages of socialism over capitalism, and the practical assertion of concern for the person as a priority direction in socioeconomic progress. This demands of each one of use seriously to review his own attitude toward his daily work, civic obligations and all social affairs, the people's good and the environment. It is a question, above all, of the fact that today it is inadmissible to take the position of a marginal observer. One must mandatorily acts according to the principle of "if not I then who?" The feeling of personal responsibility for governmental and social affairs must become the effective motivation of human behavior rather than the formally acknowledged obligation of the member of a socialist society. Therefore, the ability to act and work in a new manner are the alpha and omega of the development of a new way of thinking and a new mentality.

The new way of thinking and corresponding actions, the new mentality and new value orientation are also clearly manifested in the foreign policy of our party and Soviet state, which are invariably based on the realistic assessment of the possibility of preventing conflicts among countries belonging to opposite social systems, fraught with the threat of a global thermonuclear war, curbing and halting the arms race, resolving global problems, ensuring the comprehensive improvement of the international climate, promoting ever closer cooperation among socialist countries and developing normal business relations with the countries within the capitalist system and the developing countries. The constructive, weighed, restrained, selfless and truly sincere and open Soviet foreign policy and its humanistic nature and consistency set an example of the deep awareness shown by the party members and the entire Soviet people of their responsibility for the fate of the social progress of mankind and the future of our planet.

Today to think and act in a novel fashion means to think and act like Leninists: with a truly revolutionary scope, with a feeling of historical responsibility and realism, proceeding in everything from the interest of the working people, creatively interpreting theoretically the features of the new stage of development and, on this basis, formulating a clear program for practical action, capable of inspiring the masses and harnessing all the forces of the party and the people for its implementation. To think and act like Leninists means to learn communism every day and every hour, in the course of our theoretical and practical work, on the basis of new historical experience and the lessons of life, not resting on accomplishments or clinging to yesterday's formulas, but remembering that prescriptions applicable to all cases in life neither exist nor could exist.

It is thinking of Lenin that we undertook the implementation of the new tasks and are celebrating Ilich's birthday this year in a new political, social and moral atmosphere, an atmosphere of creativity, renovation and conversion of the potential energy acquired by our system into a dynamic energy for perfecting socialism and leading Soviet society toward a new qualitative status, as we ascend toward communism. We note this day with the thought of the need to ascribe a new scope and provide a new powerful acceleration to the cause of Lenin and the October Revolution, with a thought of the urgency of the new responsible decisions which can ensure the peaceful future and prosperity of mankind.

In developing the crucial problems of theory and practice, the party is guided by the Leninist thought that at each new historical stage the common Marxist-Leninist principles are manifested anew, displaying new facets and acquiring a specific tonality consistent with the times. "...Marx's entire world concept..." Engels emphasized, "is not a doctrine but a method. It does not provide ready-made dogmas but starting points for further research and a method for such research" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works] (vol 39, p 352). Under contemporary conditions, which demand nonstandard approaches and solutions, the methodological aspect of Marxism-Leninism and viewing it as a manual for action assume particular significance. It is precisely the specific application of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the study of the contemporary economic and political situation and the interpretation of the specific segment of the historical process through which Soviet society and the entire world are making their way that offer the key to understanding the essence of the new contribution made by our party to revolutionary theory and its consistency with "the decisive feature of Marxism" and its "living soul"--dialectical materialism--which is incompatible with any kind of mental stagnation, doctrinairism and skepticism.

The proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress and the resolutions and documents it adopted were a highly instructive example of mastery of Marxist-Leninist methodology and its creative application under contemporary conditions. Marxism has always proceeded from the fact that "the materialistic method turns into its opposite when it is used not as a guideline in historical research but as a precut pattern according to which historical facts are shaped and reshaped" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 37, p 351). The time since the April plenum has provided a number of convincing proofs of the irreconcilability and consistency with which the party and its Central Committee oppose stereotyping in real life, the constructive creativity of the masses and the means and methods of their own activities, including theoretical work.

The lesson of truth given by the congress is also a lesson of daring critical reassessment by the party of previous experience in development and of current theoretical concepts and views, and uncompromising analysis of its own errors and shortcomings and negative phenomena not only in society at large but within the party itself.

Criticism and self-criticism are considered by Marxism-Leninism a method for revolutionary transforming activities by the Communist Party and, under socialist conditions, by the entire people, as an objective demand of reality born of its real contradictions and the struggle between the new and the old, which covers all areas of social life without exception. Today, when history is taking a sharp turn, the need to develop criticism and self-criticism, as emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress, is felt more urgently than before. The party, M.S. Gorbachev noted in the CPSU Central Committee report to the congress, can successfully resolve its problems if it is itself in a state of continuing development, free from the "infallibility" complex, critically assessing results and clearly aware of what remains to be done.

The congress' lessons teach us that criticism and self-criticism have nothing in common with "bare, purposeless negation," that they must be constructive



and contribute to the formulation of optimal solutions of arising problems. The congress' documents clearly prove the manner in which Marxist-Leninist theory, creatively applied by the party, allows criticism and a positive solution of arising problems organically to interact and complement each other, becoming a single entity. This methodological, political and moral lesson must be fully mastered by our sciences, social science above all. In social practice, the weapon of Marxist-Leninist criticism must serve today the fastest possible psychological retuning of the people and the formulation of new forms of activities aimed at the qualitative renovation of all aspects of social life. At the same time, efforts to use the sharp "weapon of criticism" for purposes of social mimicry, demagoguery and settling personal accounts must be blocked. It is no secret that with big talk on the beneficial value of criticism and self-criticism, occasional efforts are made to conceal unwillingness or inability to work in a new fashion. Yet the various types of "gushings" depreciate the critical charge of speeches, the more so if they are accompanied by personal insults which denigrate the dignity of decent people who have erred. Demagoguery can only compromise criticism. It does not help but harms the cause initiated by the party. Criticism and self-criticism presume unity of words and actions and readiness to assume personal responsibility. The party expects and demands such readiness of all of its cadres, including the theoreticians, and of each labor collective and every party member and honest working person.

In theoretical activities criticism is also of essential methodological significance, for dialectics, as Marx said, "does not yield to anything and is critical and revolutionary in its essence" (K. Marx and F. Engels, op. cit., vol 23, p 22). The critical function of dialectics is nothing other than the assertion of the principles of a strict and comprehensive analysis which organically combines scientific objectivity with party-mindedness. It is precisely this that ensures success is social research with the use of dialectics. This is the secret of the unfading power of Marxism-Leninism, which was given a new development in the theoretical summations and conclusions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

Not only the content but the very spirit of innovation of the congress' resolutions and their creative method defeat the stupid myth invented by our enemies of a "crisis" in socialist theory and practice, the "obsolescence" of Marxism-Leninism and "ossification" of its theoretical thinking. As is accurately said about the communists, "we have come from far back and we shall go far!" Behind us is history and ahead of us is the infinite distance which Marxism-Leninism alone can interpret in a profoundly scientific manner. This was asserted yet once again by the 27th CPSU Congress, which formulated new theoretical concepts on the crucial nature of the current stage in history, the dialectics of the contemporary age, its trends and contradictions, the motive forces of social progress and the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development as an objective law governing the dynamics of socialist society advancing toward a new qualitative status and the dialectics of the gradual transition to communism. All of this is the constructive answer of the Leninist party through the challenge of the times and to the most burning problems which affect the Soviet people and the entire global community.

Neither in life nor in theory can the new establish itself without squeezing out customary yet already obsolete concepts. However, their rejection does not mean automatically to delete or simply replace them with others. Mastery of the congress' innovative ideas means realizing their organic, their deep connection with the entire structure of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, political economy and scientific communism and, in the light of these ideas, reinterpreting the interconnection between theory and practice, the role of science in social progress, and the tasks and theoretical instruments of the social sciences and high reliability in scientific assessments, forecasts and practical recommendations.

The profound mastery and effective utilization of the ideological-theoretical wealth of the congress' materials is a party-wide, a nationwide task. "In our program," Lenin wrote, "each paragraph is something which every working person must know, master and understand" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Corrected Works], vol 38, p 179). This knowledge and understanding are necessary today to anyone so that he can see, at each sector and work place, what must be done and in what order, what levers to activate so that our progress may gain the necessary acceleration. However, we must also see the broader connection between that which we are accomplishing today and the overall trends and contradictions of global events, which imperatively penetrate our life and from which we have neither the possibility nor the right to abstract ourselves. The theoretical and political problems which arise in this connection were profoundly and comprehensively analyzed by the 27th CPSU Congress. The ideas contained in its documents have become the greatest accomplishments of contemporary Marxist-Leninist thought, Leninism in action.

#### Dialectics of the Contemporary Age

The 27th CPSU Congress developed and enriched the Leninist concept of the contemporary age in accordance with the realities of worldwide developments in the last quarter of the 20th century and the profound and complex shifts in the international situation. This required a comprehensive study of all objectives, subjective, social and technological factors of the occurring changes. "The contemporary world," the Central Committee political report to the congress states, "is complex, comprehensive, dynamic and imbued with conflicting trends and full of contradictions. It is a world of complex choices, concerns and hopes."

The trends and contradictions in the present stage of global developments, which were so clearly and concisely identified at the congress, entirely confirm the essential Leninist assessment of the contemporary age as the age of transition from capitalism to socialism and communism. The beginning of this age was laid by the Great October Revolution, which became a crucial event in universal history and determined the general trend of the social changes of the century, leading to the irreversible and legitimate replacement of capitalism with a communist system.

As defined by the 27th CPSU Congress, the contemporary world has entered a new stage in the historical process. The essential novelty of the current situation is defined by the qualitative leap in production forces, which has taken place over the past 25 years as a result of the scientific and technical



revolution. The revolution gigantically increased mankind's constructive possibilities, particularly at the present stage, related to the development of new equipment and technology. However, it also contributed to equally broad changes in means of destruction, putting civilization on the brink of self-annihilation. Naturally, in itself the scientific and technical revolution does not contain such a suicidal drama. This dramatic situation is brought about by contemporary imperialism, the unwillingness of its ruling circles to abandon the chimera of social revenge and an effort to resolve by force the historical dispute between capitalism and socialism. "The accomplishments of the human genius," the new draft of the CPSU program emphasizes, "have been put by imperialism on the service of the development of weapons of monstrous destructive power. The policy of the imperialist circles, who are ready to sacrifice the destinies of entire nations, intensifies the danger that such weapons may be used."

Will there be a mankind and a civilization or not? Such is the question raised today and the congress convincingly proved that no third choice exists. For the first time in history, mankind is facing such a most dangerous dilemma and Lenin's party was the first to open the eyes of the world to this harsh truth. Nothing could be more important today.

The conceptual, political and moral significance of the congress' conclusion on the features of the present period in global developments is tremendous. This conclusion is supplemented by the new most essential features of the world in which mankind lives today. It concretizes and enriches the scientific outlook, making us to look with quite different eyes at the most important conceptual, sociophilosophical and methodological problems which were initially formulated by Marxism.

This applies, above all, to the problem of alienation, of the attitude of man toward his own social production forces which, as the dangerous course of events indicates, can turn into forces of destruction. Never before, in the entire history of capitalism, has there been such a real threat that such forces will get out of human control. On the other hand, the study provided by the congress of the growing potential for peace indicated that never before have opportunities for controlling such forces and the role of politics, science and the subjective factor in general been so great in preventing mankind's self-annihilation.

Problems of interrelationship between society and nature and between human production forces and the production forces of nature itself have assumed an essentially new gravity and a truly universal historical significance. The study of these problems by the congress makes us take a new look at the basic problems of any type of world outlook: the problems of the place of man in the world and his attitude toward the world, and the responsibility of the people for life on earth.

The congress not only brought to light the alternatives which face mankind today but also scientifically substantiated the only acceptable choice: peace and social progress. Is a turn in that direction possible? The 27th Congress concluded that such a turn is more than merely possible.

"The course of global developments," the congress' resolution on the CPSU Central Committee political report reads, "creates the necessary material, social and political prerequisites to this effect."

As early as 1918, in noting the complexity and contradictoriness of the ascending progress of history, Lenin emphasized that in the future "matters will become much more complex and faster; the pace of development will become more furious and turns will become more difficult" (op. cit., vol 36, p 47). Indeed, the socialist and anticolonial liberation revolutions, which followed the October Revolution, gave social progress new powerful impetus. The accelerated pace of social and national liberation of mankind set by the young socialist system turned to the future, and its competition with declining capitalism, which is becoming aggravated with each consecutive round of history, radically changed the social and political picture of the world.

World socialism--a powerful international formation based on a highly developed economy, progressive sociopolitical system and reliable military-strategic potential, which serves the cause of securing peace and international safety--legitimately became the main force of social progress in our time. That is precisely why the constructive processes developing within the world socialist system became a topic of profound interpretation and summation by the congress.

The most important accomplishment of our party's theoretical thinking is the enriched characterization of the achievements and advantages of socialism included in the new edition of the CPSU program. It is based on the experience gained not only by the USSR but also by the entire world socialist system. In indicating the possibility of resolving social problems on an essentially new, collectivistic basis, the 27th CPSU Congress emphasized the variety of ways in building the new society as well as the permanent significance of the universal laws of socialism.

The new social base brought to life a previously unheard-of type of international relations most fully embodied in the socialist community. The comprehensive strengthening of this community is a matter of special concern to the CPSU. The congress also emphasized the important thought that no barriers separate the community from the other socialist countries. In both theory and politics, priority must be given to that which unites the socialist world. That is why the party, as the new edition of its program indicates, wants to establish firm comradely relations and comprehensive cooperation between the USSR and all states within the world socialist system. The same thought was emphasized in the CPSU Central Committee political reports to the 27th Congress, in the congress' resolution and in many of the delegates speeches.

In formulating the tasks in the area of interacting with the socialist countries, the new edition of the CPSU program is based on the summation of the major changes which have taken place in their development in the past decades. The development of the members of the socialist community brought them close to the levels of basic economic intensification. Within that period, which confirmed the substantiation of the previous conclusion to the effect that a new type of economic relations and international division of

labor is taking shape among socialist countries, their cooperation increased quantitatively and changed qualitatively; socialist economic integration, its highest form under contemporary conditions, developed. In undertaking the joint solution of problems of historical importance, that of reaching the cutting edge of science and technology, the fraternal countries are providing their own, socialist, answer to the challenge of the scientific and technical revolution, which does not mean resmelting the accomplishments of the human mind into mass destruction weapons or throwing millions of people out on the street but converting such accomplishments to the service of man, for the sake of improving the well-being of the peoples and strengthening their security. Thus, the collective program of the socialist countries not only opens the technological roads leading to the third millennium but also formulates a realistic social projection for the future. These are not futurological elaborations or merely scientific forecasts but specific practical plans. Like any other practical matter, they urgently demand the updating of existing management systems, perfecting social relations and reorganizing the way of thinking. Today the collective thinking of the fraternal parties in the socialist countries is addressed to the solution of such problems.

Ideological and theoretical cooperation among fraternal parties becomes particularly important at the present stage. Most of them are holding their regular congresses this year. The problems and tasks which the ruling parties set in the course of their historical development are quite similar. While applying the common socialist laws to the specific conditions of its own country, each party is making a real contribution to the common treasury of the overall experience and theory of Marxism-Leninism. Our party shows its understanding of the formulation of problems of building developed socialism as found in the programmatic documents of the fraternal parties.

As the new draft of the CPSU program indicates, the CPSU favors the unification of the efforts of the fraternal parties aimed at the study and utilization of the experience of building socialism and the communist upbringing of the working people, the comprehensive development of Marxist-Leninist theory, the intensification of its creative nature and the defense of its revolutionary essence. These problems are resolved more successfully when communists act together. Good foundations have been laid here. However, reality demands the energizing and intensifying of collective Marxist-Leninist theoretical thinking and greater harmony and coordination of efforts in the further development of the theory of scientific communism which, as Lenin emphasized, grows "from the sum total of revolutionary experience and revolutionary thinking in all countries on earth" (op. cit., vol 27, p 11).

The dynamic development of the world socialist system and the strengthening of the political, economic and defense power of the socialist community strengthened even further the radical change in the correlation of forces in the international arena in favor of the peoples struggling for social and national liberation, for preventing a thermonuclear catastrophe and for lasting peace on earth, as indicated by the CPSU 25 years ago, in the first draft of the present program. Based on the comprehensive study of the development of socialism and all international factors within their greatly worsened and contradictory combination, the 27th Congress firmly stated that however great the threat to peace may be, created by the policy of aggressive

imperialist circles, which are unwilling to take into consideration global realities, mankind can be protected from thermonuclear catastrophe.

This fundamental conclusion drawn at the congress is based not only on the intensified consideration of the basic trends and factors which ensure the social progress of mankind but also on the comprehensive study of the development of the contemporary world as a whole, "leading into contradictions and passing through contradictions" (V.I. Lenin, op. cit., vol 20, p 65). The contradictions of the present period in the historical process, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized, "not only pass sentence on the old world and on anything which hinders further progress, but are also the source, the motive force of social progress."

The comprehensive study of the entire system of social contradictions in the world, existing between countries belonging to the two systems, the internal antagonisms within the capitalist world and the global, universal antagonisms, which reach down to the very foundations of the existence of civilization, is an outstanding example of the application of dialectical materialism to the current complex stage in social development.

In this case contradictions between countries belonging to the two socioeconomic systems--socialism and capitalism--and their competition and confrontation--play the most important, the decisive role. The congress convincingly proved that the historical laws governing the development and intensification of such contradictions do not by themselves bring about aggravations in the international situation or increase the threat of thermonuclear war, as some foreign circles claim. The Marxists-Leninists favor the resolution of the historical dispute between the systems through peaceful competition between two production methods and ways of life and their corresponding ideologies. This is the only sensible and, even more so, the only possible solution. As M.S. Gorbachev emphasized in the interview he granted to the Algerian journal REVOLUTION AFRIQUAINE, the international aspects of the strategy of acceleration of socioeconomic development of the Soviet Union are providing the necessary conditions for the historical competition between socialism and capitalism to take place exclusively in peaceful forms. It is precisely this which is a factor, and not the least one, which makes it incumbent upon us to be concerned with the acceleration of socioeconomic development. Socialism has no right to fall behind, for coexisting on the same planet is an opposite class system and a major force, from the viewpoint of the task of preserving peace, such as the United States, whose ruling circles and closest allies are still unwilling to take into consideration the reality of the existence of the new social system, and still look at it as a "historical error." Where is that system going, what are the real prospects for the fact that sober assessments of world events will nevertheless make their way through prejudices and biases in the thinking of imperialist ruling circles, and what could accelerate their awareness of the new international realities, are all problems which cannot be accurately answered without a comprehensive consideration of trends and contradictions within contemporary capitalism.

The study made by the 27th Party Congress indicated that in addition to traditional and still leading antagonisms in the course of aggravation of the

general crisis of capitalism--antagonisms between labor and capital, between monopolies and the majority of the population, and others, new important tangles and sets of contradictions have appeared. Multinational monopoly capital, which is currently controlling about one-third of the gross national product of the nonsocialist world and up to one-half of global capitalist trade, which rapidly gathered strength, has clashed with the national-state form of political organization of society. The gravest possible set of contradictions has been established and is worsening in relations between imperialism and the developing countries, which are being subjected to a most refined system of neocolonialist exploitation.

In the past 20 to 30 years contradictions on a global scale have taken shape and are among the leading groups of contradictions in the contemporary world: contradictions in the relationship between man and nature and man and society, predetermined above all by the objective course of the production process and its internationalization. It is a question not only of polluting the environment, the air and the oceans, the exhaustion of natural resources on earth and the need for their efficient utilization as the property of all mankind. It is a question of energy, food and demographic problems, of economic growth throughout the world and overcoming backwardness, problems of scientific and technical development in culture, health care and, finally, of man himself and his future. Unquestionably, social relations play an essential and, frequently, decisive role in all such problems. They define the nature of manifestation of contradictions on a global scale and their dynamics and, naturally, the ways and means of their resolution. This is exemplified by the logic of capitalist reproduction, which inevitably leads to degradation and destruction of the environment. As such problems turn into a threatening challenge to mankind, the question of the social factor in their resolution has been reformulated today, for even partial success in this area would require painstaking efforts to organize efficient international cooperation and the constructive interaction among all countries, regardless of socioeconomic system and ideological differences.

The substantiation and development of the conceptual foundations of a strategy for the solution of global problems is a merit of our party and its considerable contribution to theory. It is based on the Marxist-Leninist concept of the nature of such problems and their significance, organically blending within itself social, scientific and humanistic aspects. Unlike bourgeois-reformist views, the Marxist-Leninist concept of global problems rejects their interpretation as being "suprasocial" and "supraclass," indicating their role in the contemporary confrontation between socialism and capitalism and in strengthening coexistence and cooperation among countries belonging to different social systems.

The various groups of contradictions existing in the contemporary world, which were analyzed at the 27th CPSU Congress, reveal a clear trend toward organic interweaving, dialectical interaction and unity. As the congress' documents indicate, contradictions created by class reasons and by the social heterogeneity of our world are assuming an increasingly universal content and beginning to effect more profoundly the destinies of all civilization. The aspiration of imperialism to resolve problems of relations among countries belonging to the two systems through force, its merciless plunder of



developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin American, converting them into a huge zone of hunger, poverty and backwardness and the open violation by multinational supermonopolies of national interest and sovereignty not only of liberated but also of many developed capitalist countries are increasingly widening the gap between imperialism and most of the earth's population. That is precisely why the problems which arise in this area increasingly assume a global scale, becoming the foundation for the unification of the overwhelming majority of mankind in the struggle against imperialism and for peace and social progress.

The new stipulation formulated by the congress, which reflects the dialectics of the contemporary world, of combining the competition and historical confrontation between the two systems with the growing trend toward interdependence among countries within the global community and the contradictory yet interrelated and largely integral world, developing through the struggle between social opposites, is of essential importance in the materialistic understanding of contemporary history and the scientific substantiation of long-term foreign policy.

This conclusion makes it incumbent upon our social sciences to reach an essentially new, higher level of summation in their study of problems of global development. This level is unattainable without the proper organization of comprehensive studies of the crucial aspects of international life, through the combined efforts of philosophers, economists, sociologists, historians and workers in the other social sciences. They can no longer conduct such studies within the narrow confines of their "scientific field." As the congress convincingly proved, the objective dialectics of the contemporary world cannot be profoundly interpreted without the united work of all detachments of social scientists, for the most important truths here may be found precisely at the "intersecting points" of the different sciences. The question which arises is the following: Are rigid organizational frameworks of narrowly specialized scientific centers always contributory to fruitful work? Should we not set up comprehensive collectives for the solution of a single topical problem? The USSR Academy of Sciences has already done some work in this area. Obviously, this must be continued and intensified in accordance with practical requirements.

Identifying the main trends of global developments today, a comprehensive study of contradictions in the contemporary world and interpretation of interrelated and interdependent tasks of the struggle for peace and social progress enabled the 27th CPSU Congress to take a new approach to the question of the motive forces of the revolutionary process and the struggle for the prevention of global thermonuclear catastrophe, to determine more precisely the nature of such forces and to describe them more thoroughly. In other words, the congress was able to define with scientific accuracy the lever which makes it possible to change the world for the better within the historical future and to rescue mankind from self-destruction.

That is why we can speak today with full justification of the main motivating forces of social progress and the leading forces of the growing potential for peace; we can also consider our age, as defined in the new draft of the CPSU program, as the age of the struggle between the main motive forces of social

development--world socialism, the worker and communist movements, the peoples of the liberated countries and the mass democratic movements--as aimed against imperialism and its policy of aggression and oppression, and for peace, democracy and social progress.

The working class was and remains the main revolutionary class of our age. The attacking class is strengthening its leading, its determining role in the revolutionary reorganization of the world and in defense of life on earth. It is precisely its sociohistorical creativity that is today the decisive, the main trend of social development. The size of the international working class is growing under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution and its ranks are being reinforced with highly skilled workers. The numbers of those whom Lenin called "the engineering proletariat" are increasing.

Today the working class accounts for one-third of the economically active population in the world, or 660 million people. Such is the reality which refutes the fabrication of our class enemies about the "vanishing" of the proletariat and the loss of its vanguard positions in social progress. The working class has a tremendous growing potential.

The 27th Congress developed and intensified the main course of strengthening the unity of the international communist movement--the vanguard of the workers movement and of all forces within the world revolutionary process. Lenin's party proceeds in its relations with the fraternal parties from the fact that the variety within the communist movement is not synonymous with estrangement, in precisely the same way that unity has nothing in common with uniformity, hierarchy or the aspiration of any given party to have the monopoly on truth. At the same time, the congress confirmed the invariable solidarity of the CPSU with all forces of national and social liberation and its line of developing contacts in cooperation with social democratic parties and expanding relations with anyone who opposes war and favors international security.

Noteworthy in the definition of the contemporary age provided by the congress is another innovative party conclusion, that of the significant broadening of the front of the forces of social progress. The interpretation of the aspects of the correlation among socioclass forces at the present time indicated that a new powerful force appeared among them in the last 20 years: mass democratic movements which, for the sake of the struggle for human rights and a clean environment and against preparations for war and the arms race, unite masses of people of different political and social persuasions. Their most important components are the antiwar and antinuclear social movements, including associations of physicians, scientists, trade unions, men of culture and clergymen. The force and scope of the activities of the antiwar movement are confirmed by the following facts: the number of participants in marches and demonstrations against the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Western Europe increased from five to 50 million between 1981 and 1983. Even in the citadel of imperialism, the United States, of late the authorities in more than 100 towns have proclaimed them nuclear free zones, under the growing pressure of the broad public. Last March Chicago, the third largest city in the country, became a "nuclear-free" territory.

The steady growth of all moving forces of social progress, headed by the world socialist system, and their growing interaction, are a guarantee that the hopes of the peoples for a free and happy life under the conditions of a lasting peace, will come true. Despite the total unevenness, difficulty and conflicting nature of social progress, mankind's advance toward new victories of reason and labor is irresistible.

CPSU foreign policy strategy, inseparably related to the basic party tasks within the country, was given a profound and comprehensive Leninist interpretation and definition by the 27th Congress. The congress reasserted the primary programmatic stipulation of foreign policy: "Ensuring for the Soviet people the possibility to work under conditions of lasting peace and freedom," indicating the main trend, which is the struggle against the nuclear threat and the arms race, and for the preservation and consolidation of universal peace.

Based on the comprehensive study of the profound changes which had taken place worldwide, the congress submitted a comprehensively substantiated international program of action in the name of peace and social progress, which triggered the broadest possible positive response among the progressive democratic circles on earth, and developed the ideological and theoretical foundations for a new and just world order.

The theses of the need for a new type of foreign policy thinking and an understanding that it is no longer possible to win the arms race or the nuclear war itself, formulated by the CPSU in the post-April period, were further substantiated and developed at the congress. Consequently, even preparations for war and the aspiration to gain military superiority can objectively bring no political benefits to anyone. It is impossible to preserve and safeguard peace without firmly and irrevocably abandoning the type of action which, for centuries on end, was based on the idea of the acceptability and admissibility of wars and armed conflicts.

The question of a new understanding of the problem of universal security was formulated and raised for the first time in its entire variety in close connection with the need to develop an awareness for such basic realities: it no longer can be ensured through military-technical means or the development of even the most powerful defense. In time, military-strategic parity and fear of retribution as well may no longer be obstacles to war should the present trends be retained. Furthermore, the fate of mankind may turn out to rest on excessive reliance on technology and military-technocratic logic. Awareness of the mortal danger presented by this trend most urgently calls for ensuring the identical security of everyone exclusively through political means.

Having profoundly studied the dialectics of world events and their objective logic, the 27th CPSU Congress formulated an essentially new concept for the sociopolitical content of peaceful coexistence as an international order ruled by good neighborly relations and cooperation, with an extensive exchange of scientific and technical achievements and cultural values. Labor results would be directed exclusively toward constructive purposes and countries which have taken the path of independent development would find their progress



toward national and social advance facilitated. Favorable opportunities would appear to resolve global problems through collective efforts. This concept, which was presented in the new edition of the CPSU program, has triggered the live and supportive interest of the world public by its humanism and sincere concern for the future of all peoples under conditions of peace and material and spiritual progress.

The congress supported the innovative theoretical-political ideas and concepts with an efficient foreign policy program for the future: a program for creating a comprehensive international security system. The familiar suggestions formulated by our country, contained in the 15 January declaration of M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, calling for the elimination of nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons by the year 2000, are its most important component, its structural frame, one could say. The implementation of these suggestions would unquestionably open to mankind an essentially new area of development and the possibility of concentrating exclusively on constructive work.

Without concealing or belittling the difficulties experienced in the efforts to ensure a lasting peace, caused by the unwillingness of the leading imperialist circles to soberly assess the realities of the situation, the congress indicated the difficulty of forecasting relations between socialist and capitalist countries and between the USSR and the United States in the immediate future. It was noted that although prerequisites for improving the international climate have begun to appear in the world, in itself this does not mean a turn for the better. Actions taken by reactionary U.S. circles in recent weeks, such as the demonstrative unwillingness to agree to halting all nuclear weapon tests or engaging in aggressive sallies against Libya and Nicaragua, indicate that the degree of recklessness in prevailing Western policy remains quite high.

Under these circumstances, the 27th CPSU Congress instructed the Central Committee to encourage on a systematic, planned and persistent basis the solution of the problem of international security, directing Soviet foreign policy strictly to follow the course of peaceful coexistence, firmness in defending our principles and positions, and tactical flexibility and readiness for mutually acceptable compromises, aimed at dialogue and mutual understanding. Our party firmly proclaimed its intention to continue comprehensively to assist in strengthening the worldwide potential for peace, reason and goodwill.

Therefore, theoretical and political continuity and innovativeness, organically blended within an integral system of ideas and approaches which provide an accurate picture of reality, are clearly apparent in the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress, above all in the Central Committee political report, the new draft of the party program and, particularly, its sections which characterize the contemporary world and its basic trends and contradictions. This provides a conceptual basis for practical political actions by the party and Soviet state in the areas of tactics and international strategy, making them weighed, scientifically thought-out and substantiated. That is why they are creating the growing respect of all progressive forces in the world and of thinking and serious-minded people on

earth--scientists, men of culture and all working people--forcing our foes to resort to convulsive searches for some kind of "latest" concepts, such as "neoglobalism" and others, in which the "neo" is merely a prefix to the same old root: imperial expansionism, hegemonism and aspiration to global domination.

Such aspirations are opposed by the young and developing socialist world with its universal-historical accomplishments, joys, concerns, problems and plans for the future, taking us to the start of the third millennium and beyond. What do the new theoretical features which such documents of the 27th CPSU Congress, which are basic and essential to us, bring? How is the dialectical interconnection between innovativeness and continuity, characteristic of creative Marxism-Leninism, manifested in them? These questions need special consideration and will be discussed in a follow-up article.

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## STRATEGY OF ACCELERATION: THEORY AND PRACTICE

### ENERGY OF THE ACCELERATION -- INTO ACTION!

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 86 (signed to press 16 Apr 86) pp 17-22

[Text] The intensity of energy of the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development is the product of the speed of social progress toward its goal and the mass of involved participants. The huge, incredibly difficult and complex work related to the all-round advancement of socialism and raising it to a qualitatively new condition leaves us no time for oscillating. History demands a headlong start so that our progress may increasingly accelerate. A great deal has been accomplished after the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and with the new acceleration provided by the decisions of the historical 27th Party Congress. Steps are being taken for the reconstruction of the national economy, aimed at ensuring priority in the development of sectors which determine scientific and technical progress. This applies, above all, to machine building, metallurgy, chemistry and computer and microprocessor equipment. Radical changes are beginning to take place in machine building, under our very eyes. Recently, for example, the decision was made to undertake the extensive use of microprocessors in the national economy. This will enable us significantly to accelerate the pace of production mechanization and automation and sharply to reduce manual labor. The approach to capital construction is changing. Designing is being thoroughly revised. The production base of construction is being updated. In order to upgrade efficiency in the utilization of the scientific potential, the process of establishing scientific-production associations, intersectorial scientific and technical complexes and engineering centers, and the integration of VUZ and sectorial science with production has been accelerated.

Major steps aimed at the further development of the agroindustrial complex have been earmarked and are being implemented. Within a short time this will really change the food supply situation for the better. Possibilities have been found for the immediate implementation of a number of important steps in social policy. It is a question of the further development of health care, public education and the cultural-spiritual sphere, and perfecting wages and pensions. Bearing in mind the gravity of the matter, additional steps are being taken to expand housing construction. Therefore, the party is firmly pursuing a course of accelerated social development, making the necessary corrections in planning practices to this effect. Capital investments have been reallocated in favor of the social program. Regional needs and specifics are being taken more fully into consideration.

Our party's Central Committee ascribes exceptional importance to solving problems related to implementing a radical reform in administrative and economic management methods. The management structure is being reorganized. At the same time, steps are being taken to strengthen economic management methods. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo recently approved the new economic mechanism for the agroindustrial complex, which offers extensive opportunities for rural worker initiative and for making them more interested in increasing output. The formulation of the economic management mechanism in light industry is nearing completion. This will make both enterprise production life and wages directly related to the quality and variety of output and the ability to react to the needs of the market.

As we can see, a reorganization is taking place in all areas. Naturally, this is not easy. However, as M.S. Gorbachev emphasized in his Togliatti speech, we will mandatorily complete this project and not stop midway, regardless of any hindrances which may appear.

The Togliatti speech not only repeats in a condensed form what was said at the congress and codified in its documents, but also sheds light on new facets, puts additional emphases in the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the urgent long-term problems which face us. This analysis enriches our understanding of why it is that we need precisely this type of congress and the nature of the strategic character of the decisions it approved. The speech expands and supplements the description of priorities in contemporary party policy and the basic components of the acceleration strategy formulated at the congress.

The new party document enables us to understand more profoundly the dialectics of the contemporary age and the new features of today's relations between socialism and peace, socialism and humanism and socialism and democracy. Every party member and Soviet person thus acquires the possibility of better mastering, considering and filtering through his mind and heart all that was said at the congress and was embodied in its resolutions and, therefore, acting more successfully. This, precisely, is today's most important task.

The crux of the matter is to convert the energy of thought to practical action, making use of the tremendous material and spiritual potential of the socialist system and the people's social activeness. The fact that the overwhelming majority of Soviet people warmly approve and unconditionally support the congress' resolutions cannot be a reason for any kind of political euphoria. The problem is skillfully to direct the increased creative energy of the working people and efficiently to direct their faith in the party's plans.

The energy of the acceleration will increase with the greater readiness of labor collectives, all our cadres and all working people to assume personal responsibility. The appeal contained in the speech of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary not to fear decisive, daring and innovative action is of essential significance in the all-round development of their initiative. "It is not terrible if someone makes a mistake, comrades," M.S. Gorbachev said on this subject. "We have the type of prestigious party and strong Soviet system and such a tremendous people's trust in them that we would be able to correct one error or another and draw from it lessons for the future."

All of this, as one can easily understand, does not mean in the least granting amnesty in cases of obvious thoughtlessness, bungling and irresponsible voluntaristic attempts to act thoughtlessly. It is a question of something else. "Only those who do nothing never err," Lenin believed. Furthermore, there are errors and errors. Today, however, it is particularly important to bear in mind that the scale of change related to the implementation of the congress' resolutions is truly unprecedented, that we must solve a number of most difficult problems and that the principle of "let nothing happen" is the most convenient justification for all types of inaction. In the next 15 years we must accomplish as much as was accomplished in almost 70 years of Soviet system. Along the way of scientific and technical progress we must double our production potential and increase labor productivity by a factor of 2.3-2.5, so that, on this basis, raise to a new height the well-being of the people and channel into it twice the resources we are channeling into it today.

The strategy of the acceleration firmly rejects any kind of haste and fussy spasmodic work regardless of where it takes place. The radical restructuring of all aspects of our social life, initiated on the party's initiative, demands of each one of us heroism in daily work. It presumes readiness to redo our work patiently and repeatedly if necessary. The slogans of practicality, of a thrifty, honest and conscientious attitude toward the work, elementary decency and a sober way of life, entirely void of any kind of superficial romanticism, are becoming topical as are long-term political requirements.

"In the case of the production worker," M.S. Gorbachev said in Togliatti, "he must ensure work discipline and organization, high productivity and production quality. He must take care of objects assigned to him and make economical use of resources. If he is a scientist or engineer, he must make a maximal contribution to the development of scientific and technical progress and to the reconstruction of the national economy on the basis of scientific and technological achievements. In the case of managerial personnel, it is their duty and direct obligation to ensure the extensive utilization of new methods of economic management and the efficient solution of all problems which determine end results and economic efficiency."

Day after day, month after month and quarter after quarter we must increase our efforts to fulfill and overfulfill the assignments of the first year of the 12th 5-Year Plan. It is important always to remember that this 5-year period plays a special role in the struggle for the implementation of the acceleration strategy. It is the most difficult of the three 5-year plans which separate us from the end of the century. It is precisely this one, the 12th 5-Year Plan, that will be decisive to a great extent, for it must lay the firm foundations for production intensification on the basis of scientific and technical progress and develop a base for the subsequent faster advance along the entire front of economic and social development.

We can make this development in all social areas very dynamic as of now, by extensively disseminating and mastering the practical experience of the country's leading collectives. In his speech, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary named many pioneers. Their experience proves the tremendous reserves which exist for accelerating the country's socioeconomic progress,

reserves which can and must be utilized without delay. The acceleration will become even greater if the initiative and creative search of the people from below are supported with necessary decisions and support from above. Combining these two movements means sharply upgrading the efficiency of our common work. It is only thus that we will be able to sweep off on our way everything that is old and obsolete and which, in the guise of customs, prejudices, morally obsolete instructions and concepts and worn-out means and methods of organization, are hindering our progress.

A restructuring of our thinking, mentality, organization, style and methods of work is a starting point for surmounting stagnation and complacency which have developed in many work sectors, and the most important prerequisite for solving the problems formulated by the congress. We must be realistic. "We must very clearly see and distinguish," M.S. Gorbachev said in Togliatti, "between those who have truly begun to reorganize their work and who may occasionally make a mistake but who seek and care, and those who merely adapt to the new trends without changing anything in practice."

The "knights of speech" have many faces. Some of them, even though sincerely desiring a reorganization and warmly welcoming it, cleverly wait, hoping that the changes which are ripe will blow into their lives somewhere from above, miraculously, containing ready made prescriptions fitting all cases in life. Others, who struggle for greater rights and, finally, after obtaining them, stop halfway, are incapable of using them. Others again, who sharply and justly criticize shortcomings and conservatism sometimes displayed by superior management units, begin to feel so cozy sitting in their armchairs, after their promotion, that they immediately lose any taste for the change for which they struggled only yesterday and try to preserve the inertia of tranquillity by all possible means. That is why it is so important never to forget that belief in the need for reorganization in general alone is insufficient in achieving success. Also needed are personal readiness, willingness and ability to reorganize oneself and to think and work in a new fashion. It is also important to remember that we are at the very beginning of the acceleration, at which point overwork is inevitable if we want to maintain the pace of socioeconomic change as stipulated in the congress' resolutions.

We must become fully aware of the unquestionable and far-reaching conclusion drawn by the party and reemphasized in M.S. Gorbachev's speech to the working people in Togliatti, to the effect that the problems formulated by the congress will not be resolved through "gradualism," petty and timid improvements and partial updating of technological, production, economic and social structures. In this case we specifically need a revolutionary leap, a break in gradualness. This cannot be achieved unless we firmly abandon what we call the "philosophy of imitation," apparent not only in material production but also in the spiritual area. Suffice it to recall the uncritical adoption and duplication efforts by some "imitators" among us of some structures and behavioral and mass cultural standards of Western society.

"The Soviets have their pride," one of our outstanding poets once said. It would befit developers of new equipment, foreign trade personnel and heads of various economic sectors engaged in industrial reconstruction to remember this



more often. Such pride and belief in the broadest possible opportunities of socialism are a necessary spiritual component of the strategy of acceleration.

Outstripping worldwide accomplishments must become flesh and blood of all labor collectives and economic bodies, a principle in our work and one of the most important socialist competition targets. The advantages of socialism must be asserted not only through the political system and the social benefits but also through economic results, advanced technology and high quality goods.

The sober realism which distinguishes contemporary party policy makes it incumbent always to remember that ideas have invariably failed the moment they were separated from life and the interests of the working people. Unity of basic interests shared by all classes and social strata does not exclude, as economic practice above all convincingly proves, differences among personal, microsocial interests. Collective interests, realized to a greater or lesser extent, largely determine the real forms of participation in reorganization and the type of attitude toward it displayed by the different categories of working people and labor collectives directly employed in material production or in management. Particular attention must be paid to perfecting the various management units which give legal acts and instructions a strategic importance. Past experience and recent practices remind us most emphatically of the inertial power of the administrative apparatus and the tangible hindrance which all kinds of bans have on enhancing the initiative of the toiling masses and increased public production efficiency.

In this connection, the study of the topical problems in the development of the principles of democratic centralism in economic management and planning, contained in M.S. Gorbachev's speech, is of exceptional importance. This will unquestionably help us to surmount bureaucratic trends in understanding the role of the center in management and ensure the extensive development of local enterprise and mass initiative, which Lenin valued so highly.

In the light of our current difficult projects related to perfecting the economic mechanism, Lenin's words sound particularly topical: "Democratic and socialist centralism has nothing in common with stereotype or uniformity instituted from the top. Unity in basic and essential matters is not violated but ensured through variety in details, local features, means of approaching the work and ways of ensuring supervision..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works, vol 35, p 203]).

It is only thus that we must approach the project under present conditions, comprehensively ensuring the economic, organization and ideological development of initiative and, at the same time, strengthening the discipline of the working people and upgrading the responsibility of all workers without exception for their assignments. Here as well the application of full cost accounting and the skillful utilization of commodity-monetary relations must play a very important role. Their purpose is to ensure a coincidence of interests in individual workers and labor collectives and the entire society and the further strengthening of social justice in society to a much greater extent than has been achieved so far.

Improving the economic mechanism and optimizing the management of economic interests are exceptionally complex issues, for which reason we must increasingly rely on thoroughly checked and substantiated scientific recommendations. We consider as a necessary prerequisite for the successful solution of problems arising in this area the soonest possible rejection by a certain percentage of our scientists of concepts according to which, as was noted at the 27th CPSU Congress, they consider any change in the existing economic mechanism as almost a retreat from the principles of socialism. Fully in accordance with Lenin, the point of view of practical life must be the first and basic viewpoint in the elaboration of the theoretical problems of comprehensive improvements of socialism.

At this sharp turn in history, the party with its committees and organizations assumes particular responsibility. Under contemporary conditions it is particularly important for the entire party, all its units and all party members to perfect their ability to act, as Lenin taught, through the power of their authority, the force of their energy, their greater experience and comprehensiveness and great talent. Particularly intolerable of party member under contemporary conditions are all displays of communist boastfulness and efforts to solve all problems by decree, ignoring the masses. Today life addresses its requirement for the highest possible level of competence above all to the party members. "The communist," Lenin taught, "who has failed to prove his ability to rally and modestly to direct the work of specialists, penetrating into the core of projects and studying them in detail, is frequently a harmful communist" (op. cit., vol 42, p 346).

Our work style must be more energetic and efficient, aimed not at drafting papers and minutes but organizing the initiative-minded activities of the toiling masses. This applies above all to the bodies in charge of managing the national economy, which must hasten to get rid of many still existing bureaucratic methods, departmentalism and parochialism. This equally applies to the soviets of people's deputies, which must assume tireless control over the entire variety of projects related to concern for the people. This applies to the Soviet trade unions, which today must comprehensively upgrade their role as schools of economic management and communism and implement more strictly their functions in defending the interest of the working people. This also applies to our Komsomol, which must be a pioneer in the struggle for everything that is new and progressive in our life and help young people to learn communism in the course of their practical work, and to every worker, kolkhoz member and specialists, whose patriotic duty is radically to improve his work style. "To improve this style," said M.S. Gorbachev in his Togliatti speech, "means to improve one's attitude toward the work and eliminate all hack-work, pretense of working and white-washing. It means less breaks, less gossip and more conscientiousness, straightening-up and paying attention to the work."



That is how our party and its Central Committee formulate with Leninist exigency a program for practical action, with extreme concreteness, avoiding big words and general statements, a program for action which will enable us to make full use of acceleration energy in order to change the world of man and, therefore, man himself, making his life more meaningful and better.

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## ON THE COURSE OF PARTY AGRARIAN POLICY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 86 (signed to press 16 Apr 86) pp 23-35

[Article by V. Murakhovskiy, USSR Council of Ministers first deputy chairman, USSR State Agroindustrial Committee chairman]

[Text] One of the most important tasks formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress was that of reliably ensuring the country's food supplies. In the immediate future we must consolidate our positions as a state with a highly productive agriculture and developed infrastructure of the agroindustrial complex. The party's agrarian policy, developed and enriched in the congress' documents in terms of the period of accelerated socioeconomic development and qualitative advancement of social relations, is aimed at resolving these problems. Their practical solution today is the focal point of attention of all those employed in the agroindustrial complex. The congress noted that the steady implementation of contemporary agrarian policy and of the Food Program is a prime task of the entire party and people.

### I.

Achievements in the implementation of the Food Program, which was adopted at the May 1982 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, have had a positive influence on increasing output, strengthening the economy of kolkhozes and sovkhoses and promoting rural social progress. We farm under rather difficult natural and climatic conditions: more than two-thirds of the farmland are in an area with insufficient moisture and frequent droughts. Expensive land draining and struggle against soil acidity covering huge areas are required. Steadily surmounting these difficulties, the agricultural workers have increased food production, which has enabled us to reach the level of the most developed countries in the world in terms of nutrition calories.

As was pointed out at the congress, however, such accomplishments are still not meeting our needs, particularly for meat, milk, fruits and vegetables. The efforts to surmount lagging in agriculture remain slow. Some oblasts, krays and republics are inefficiently using their available production and scientific potential, and crop yields and livestock productivity remain low. The processing industry is underdeveloped, which leads to significant produce losses. In recent years little progress has been made in simplifying economic relations among sectors and enterprises; in many cases they have even

worsened. Integration between agriculture and the processing industry and production with science has been sluggish.

Proceeding from the actual situation, the party defined a range of basic problems the solution of which will result in a sharp upturn in the economic and organization activities of the agroindustrial complex and in perfecting production relations.

The objective need has developed of adopting new economic management methods. The possibility of restructuring is also helped by the increased skill and experience of cadres. The essential step was the creation of unified management bodies, central and local, in accordance with the stipulations of the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. A union-republic agroindustrial committee--the USSR Gosagroprom--was set up. The organizational structure of this apparatus was significantly simplified, the size of its administrative personnel was reduced and its cost was lowered substantially. The new bodies were given corresponding rights in the areas of planning, financing and material and technical procurements.

The reorganization is aimed at eliminating on all levels departmental discoordination, removing faster disproportions at sectorial intersecting points, ensuring the actual and efficient integration between kolkhozes and sovkhoses and processing industry enterprises, accelerating scientific and technical progress in agroindustrial production and guiding all units of this largest national economic complex toward high end results.

Following the organizational shaping of the agroindustrial complex as a single entity, the particularly urgent need arose of restructuring the economic management mechanism. The existing forms of economic relations had developed under conditions of departmental discoordination and extensive sectorial development. Their efficiency gradually declined, losing its stimulating role. Abundant instructions and sectorial regulations restricted the activities of managers and specialists.

The idea formulated by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, at the 27th Party Congress, on the creative use of Lenin's idea of tax in kind, applicable to contemporary conditions, is an example of innovative approach to perfecting the economic management mechanism and ensuring the more active utilization of all commodity-monetary relations. In developing this idea, Lenin spoke of the ability to "acknowledge evil" fearlessly, in order to fight it more firmly and again and again start from scratch, correcting unfinished matters and selecting various approaches to the task. "The task of the food worker," he noted, "is becoming more difficult, for it is not merely a question of harvesting the produce as rapidly and efficiently as possible but also of guiding the cooperatives, adapting petty industry and developing local initiative such as to increase and strengthen farming and industry turnover. The development of such turnover demands, by its very essence, independent, knowledgeable and intelligent local initiative (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Completed Collected Works], vol 43, pp 231-236).

Naturally, this pertained to a specific stage in the development of our national economy and production relations. The importance of such principles

today as well is obvious. Our current practical experience has clearly indicated that a certain mistrust in the development of commodity-monetary relations and denial of the importance of their active influence on increasing farm interests and responsibilities lead to reduced production efficiency and weakened cost accounting.

The 27th Party Congress clearly emphasized that the socialist market must play an important role in increasing the volume and upgrading the quality of output. There is no reason to fear this, for the limits of the market are set by the socialist system and the key positions held by the state in production and distribution. The practical application of such a significant theoretical concept must, unquestionably, have a beneficial impact on the entire economic management system.

Guided by the congress' resolutions, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed a decree on further improvements in the economic management mechanism of the country's agroindustrial complex. This essentially important party-policy document, drafted on the initiative and direct participation of M.S. Gorbachev, is entirely aimed at strengthening and developing commodity-monetary and real and total cost accounting relations.

The decree calls for the creation of economic conditions under which kolkhozes, sovkhoses and other enterprises within the agroindustrial complex will be interested in increasing the production of commodities needed by society and improving their quality, thus increasing their income and engaging in their economic activities on the basis of financial self-recovery and self-financing. We must enhance the authority of the plan and the role of the socialist market. We must make more efficient use of the entire set of commodity-monetary relations and of economic levers, such as prices, credits, profits and profitability.

The party's resolutions on perfecting the economic management mechanism are aimed at accelerating the development of production forces in the agroindustrial complex. In terms of scale and depth of influence, such measures are of major economic and political significance. They develop and enrich the party's agrarian theory.

The purpose of perfecting the economic mechanism is, by strengthening centralized management in the basic areas to create conditions for the extensive use of economic management methods, and decentralize some functions, transferring them from the center to republics, from republics to oblasts and from oblasts to rayons and, above all, to upgrade the autonomy of enterprises and organizations and give them scope for economic maneuvering, creativity, initiative and socialist enterprise, thus ensuring the optimal combination of the interest of the state with those of enterprises, labor collectives and individual workers.

Improving production planning and converting to a more progressive norming method must play a main role in the implementation of these objectives. Planning on all levels must be based on the economic assessment of the land and availability of productive capital and manpower and other resources. Experience in such planning has been acquired in many RSFSR oblasts and krays,

the Baltic republics, the BeSSR and the UkSSR. Now it is a question of mastering this system by the country's entire agroindustrial complex.

Together with the USSR Gosplan and VASKHNIL, the USSR Gosagroprom is drafting standards which will be applied in the formulation of plans on the union and republic levels. Urgent steps are also being taken for the planning-economic and land organization services, with the participation of zonal scientific research institutions and higher educational establishments, to develop standards applicable to the specific natural-economic farming conditions of each oblast and rayon.

The formulation of scientific and equally stressed plans on this basis will be of major mobilizing significance. The annual and long-range plans of kolkhozes and sovkhozes will take into account the development of individual auxiliary farms by the population in their territory.

Special attention is being paid to adopting a comprehensive approach to resolving production problems, ensuring the total preservation and quality processing of the produce and developing the infrastructure of the agroprom. The need to develop specialized raw material areas and ensure the rational deployment of the processing industry will be taken more carefully into consideration. It is a question of building large as well as medium-sized and small enterprises. The main thing will be to ensure the fastest possible reconstruction of existing enterprises, increase their capacity, convert to resource-saving technologies and upgrading production quality. We must more boldly undertake the creation of integrated agroindustrial associations and combines which will ensure the comprehensive utilization of raw materials and the production of a wide variety of high-quality food products and reduce losses and transportation and other costs.

One of the major features in this case is converting to stable annual grain purchases for each year of the 12th 5-Year Plan, based on the plan for 1986. A 100-percent price supplement will be paid for grain sales over and above the average annual level reached during the 11th 5-Year Plan. Farms which overfulfill their grain purchasing plan will be sold, as an incentive, motor vehicles, tractors and other material resources in greater demand, in addition to their regularly assigned stocks.

Starting with 1987, plans for republic, kray and oblast purchases of meat, milk, eggs, potatoes, vegetables, melon crops, fruits, berries, table grapes, citrus fruits and dried fruits will not be issued: fixed annual plans for deliveries of such products to centralized funds (or subsidized deliveries) will be instituted. All remaining products after the assignments have been met will be for domestic consumption. The variety of produce used locally will be determined on the republic and oblast levels.

The purpose of all this is to develop the initiative of the local bodies. However, this also imposes upon them great responsibility for improving food supplies to their populations. Such improvements must be ensured above all through the maximal utilization of local resources and possibilities of

kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and auxiliary population and enterprise farms and the extensive use of wasteless technologies in the processing industry.

This is not a new approach to the production and distribution of food supplies. In his time, V.I. Lenin pointed out that "When it becomes a question of food distribution, this should not be regarded merely in terms of equitable distribution; we must also realize that such distribution is a method, a tool, a means of upgrading output" (op. cit., vol 43, p 359).

Union republics are given the right to differentiate among levels of purchase prices for all varieties of agricultural commodities, by zone and group of farms. Conversion to scientific planning of purchases of agricultural commodities and material and technical supplies to farms, based on technical and economic standards, combined with the right given to the republics of setting purchase price differentials, creates objective possibilities of equalizing farming economic conditions of rayons, kolkhozes and sovkhoses working under different natural and climatic conditions.

Major changes are planned by the party and the government in the organization of capital construction. As of next year plans for capital construction and for the completion of capacities and capital assets will be drafted by the kolkhozes and sovkhoses themselves, within the range of allocated capital investments. Farms which have their own available funds and material resources may carry out above-ceiling construction. More rights are being given to heads of enterprises and gosagroprom bodies in approving cost estimates and other documents. Enterprises will be allocated material resources for repair-operational requirements and construction carried out by themselves, based on set standards.

Greater opportunities are thus provided. Their sensible utilization in the interest of the state and the labor collectives is important. We must firmly abandon the principle of planning "on the basis of attained level." Managers of many oblasts and rayons compromised by issuing assignments for respective projects on the basis of equal growth percentages: the pace set for a lagging rayon or farm was the same as that of a frontranking one. The same method was used in resource allocation. This only widened the gap between leaders and stragglers. The conversion to the new plan drafting procedure will make a drastic change in the practice and assessment of economic activities, and organizing such work on an objective, a scientific basis.

The party and government decrees call for extending in the 12th 5-Year Plan payment of purchase-price supplements to underprofitable farms or farms operating at a loss. Let us particularly emphasize that society is taking this step in order to compensate the farms operating under worse natural and economic conditions, rather than in order to compensate for low economic management standards. This governmental approach is based on differences in the quality and location of the land, equipment availability and the production and social structure of the farms.

With a view to improving the financial status of some enterprises within the agroindustrial complex, the repayment of loans to the Gosbank, totaling as much as 30 billion rubles, has been postponed for 10 years. The local



authorities and the Gosagroprom must take steps to ensure the more efficient utilization of funds allocated to underprofitable and losing farms. They must be given priority in the allocation of capital investments, in assignments of contracting construction organizations and allocation of equipment, chemical fertilizers, construction materials and other resources. Strengthening their social development is of particular importance.

Briefly stated, it is important to take real steps which would make it possible to enhance within a short time the productivity of crops and livestock farms, lower unproductive outlays and upgrade production profitability. Enhancing the economy of currently lagging farms is a tremendous reserve in implementing the congress' tasks.

Abandoning the old planning principles and emphasizing the development of local initiative will enable us to improve the objective nature and reality of the plans and to enhance the responsibility of managers of farms, enterprises and organizations for the efficient utilization of their production potential. The firm state purchases plan, the system of economically substantiated prices, the stimulation of above-plan procurements and the organization of countersales to kolkhozes and sovkhoses (in addition to funded stocks, as incentive) of material resources will give the economic mechanism an essentially new content and should accelerate agricultural output.

## II.

"True cost accounting, relating enterprise income to end results," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized at the 27th Party Congress, "must become the standard for all units within the agroindustrial complex, kolkhozes and sovkhoses above all." The USSR Gosagroprom sets the task of converting virtually all kolkhozes and sovkhoses to total cost accounting over the next 2 years. Cost accounting must be applied in all subunits of the agroindustrial complex and be the main link in the cost-reduction mechanism. Under the new conditions, cost accounting, labor contracting, production costs, prices and profitability become the main management levers.

Let us point out that in recent years some work has been done in this respect. Today one out of three kolkhozes and one out of four sovkhoses has a profitability in excess of 25 percent; 10 percent of the farms show a profitability in excess of 40 percent. Losing farms no longer exist in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and in Moscow, Leningrad, Lipetsk, Grodno, Brest and some other oblasts. Hundreds of thousands of brigades, livestock farms, sections, shops and production sectors are working on the basis of intracost-accounting principles.

Nevertheless, a great deal of formalism remains in the application of cost accounting. Let us say honestly that cost accounting in a significant percentage of enterprises is limited to issuing cumbersome assignments, while the rest of the work is ignored. Supervision over their implementation and fund outlays is not provided. No material incentives are provided for thrift, and cost overruns are forgiven. Accountability, without which no cost accounting is possible, is poorly organized.

This raises production costs which showed a significant increase in many republics and oblasts during the 11th 5-Year Plan. For the time being, 47 percent of all farms in the country are growing potatoes and 42 percent are raising cattle at a loss. Particularly numerous are losing farms in a number of oblasts in Siberia, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. A study has shown that such kolkhozes and sovkhoses have not developed intrafarm production specialization and concentration; fertilizer use and land reclamation results are low; equipment, fodder and other resources are used poorly; the level of organization of labor and discipline is low and no struggle is being waged for economy and thrift.

This must no longer be allowed. The way to reducing outlays and lowering the cost of output of crops and livestock farms goes through the development of a thrifty economic management system. The conversion to self-support demands of all production sections in kolkhozes and sovkhoses to convert not to formal but actual cost accounting, to be issued assignments concerning production quantity and quality and ceilings of production outlays. They must know what their earnings will be, based on end results. We must not only provide incentives to labor collectives based on work results but also consider material liability for negligence and resource overruns per unit of output. The mechanism for the enactment of such processes is included in the decree: 70 percent of saved amounts can be paid out as bonuses while cost overruns must be covered from wage or incentive funds.

Further improvements and the intensification of cost accounting are related to the conversion of kolkhozes and sovkhoses to a shop-management structure. This will enable them to set up primary subunits with extensive operational-economic autonomy, capable of efficiently applying the latest equipment and progressive technologies and, on this basis, increasing production output, upgrading labor productivity and lowering production costs.

Cost accounting means not only saving on resources but also strictly correlating expenditures with income and ensuring the latter's optimal allocation to accumulation and consumption funds. Unfortunately, in recent years kolkhozes and sovkhoses in many oblasts and republics have channeled most of their increased income into the consumption fund. In Uzbek kolkhozes, for example, the growth rates of withholdings for consumption funds are double those of accumulations. The Tajik kolkhozes channel 86 percent of their income into the consumption fund, which exceeds the national average.

Many enterprises use their income from price markups not for developing production but, here again, for consumption, for wages, regardless of labor productivity. The result, for example, is that wages in losing Turkmen kolkhozes average 20 percent higher than in kolkhozes showing a 15-20 percent profitability. In a number of areas the size of the administrative apparatus and its upkeep are being systematically increased. An entire group of farms, having earned purchase-price markups, have not only failed to improve their financial status but, having sharply increased wages and other expenditures, have even worsened their economic situation.

Kolkhozes and sovkhoses which have achieved high economic indicators through cost accounting, collective contracts and new economic management methods,



exist in all republics, krais and oblasts and many rayons: the kolkhozes Rossiya in Pskov Oblast, Zarya in Kemerovo Oblast and imeni Shchors in Cherkassy Oblast; the sovkhoses Zhilevskiy, Moscow Oblast, Suzdalskiy, Vladimir Oblast, Nazarovskiy, Krasnodar Kray and many others. The efficiency of many other enterprises in the Ukrainian food, meat and dairy industries, which converted to the new economic management conditions, increased sharply. Their experience must be applied consistently and energetically.

We must see to it that the collective contract become the dominant form of labor organization and wages. This method offers tremendous possibilities of economic upsurge. Suffice it to say that in contract collectives crop yields and cattle productivity are 15-25 percent higher and labor productivity is more than double compared to others.

However, examples of a different nature exist as well. Thus, contract collectives were assigned 70 percent of the plowland in Kaluga Oblast. Last year, however, grain yields here averaged no more than 11.9 quintals and potatoes 109 quintals per hectare. The kolkhozes and sovkhoses remain weak economically. Why did the use of the collective contract not result in positive changes? A study has indicated that many of the farms violated the contract principles and contractual conditions; brigade and link leaders were given limited rights in solving current economic problems. In many areas production norms and unit-output rates had been set improperly. Major errors in wages had been made; in some farms, they continued to be based on the volume of work, i.e., "by the wheel;" in others, "equalization" blossomed.

Similar cases were found in farms in Turkmeniya, and Semipalatinsk, Chernigov, Voronezh, Kurgan and many other oblasts. Frequently specific work was replaced with general discussions on the importance and need to apply this progressive method. Formalism is very harmful in the application of cost accounting and the contracting system. The qualitative aspect of the work is ignored in pursuit of quantity. Contracting collectives are set up in many farms without proper preparations and in violation of the voluntary participation principles. Their sizes are not always justified, and numerous indicators are set, which frequently confuse people. In frequent cases administrations fail to fulfill their obligations. No success could be expected with such an approach. Consequently, many kolkhoz members and sovkhos workers remain mistrustful of the new forms of labor organization and wages and contract collectives dissolve. In this manner, anything, even the most important projects, can be compromised.

What is the problem? The entire farm, including its managers and specialists, must be directed toward end results. Their wages as well must be related to output. In this case, the contracting order will be adopted by everyone and will be followed by all, from the worker to the manager. This principle has been followed for many years by the kolkhozes imeni Lenin and imeni XX Partsyezda, Rostov Oblast, imeni Frunze, Belgorod Oblast, Druzhba, Vinnitsa Oblast and many others.

However, the new economic management mechanism demands of us to go further. We must most daringly convert to wages based on gross income. The cost accounting assignments of primary labor collectives must include a minimum of

indicators: planned volume of output, production outlays and norms of withholding from estimated gross income for wages. This precisely is the most economical method. It closely links material incentive with the level of labor productivity and conservation of material resources. The high efficiency of this approach is confirmed by the results achieved by many farms throughout the country. For example, at the Za Mir Kolkhoz, LiSSR, during the first year that this wage method was applied, output increased by 11 percent; production costs declined by 4 percent; fuel and lubricant costs dropped by 14 percent and spare part costs by 34 percent. Kazminskiy Kolkhoz, Stavropol Kray, has been basing wages on gross income for the past 10 years. During the 11th 5-Year Plan alone, compared with the 10th, the volume of gross output here increased 70 percent; labor productivity increased by one-half and gross income doubled. Wages increased by 40 percent. Another thrifty farm is the Kolkhoz imeni Vladimir Ilich, Moscow Oblast.

Here is another important feature: cost accounting and the new progressive forms of labor organization and wages are most efficient wherever control over outlays is properly organized. Practical experience has indicated that the use of checks in settling reciprocal accounts is the best means of such control. It is important to apply it comprehensively. Results must be summed up and made public on a monthly basis or, in some cases, even every 10 days. This will help promptly to eliminate reasons for cost overruns and encourage thrifty labor collectives.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers deemed necessary the implementation of a number of additional steps to strengthen cost accounting, aimed, above all, at strengthening ties between wages and end results, increased output and enhanced efficiency and increased integration processes between kolkhozes and sovkhozes, on the one hand, and their partners, on the other. In order to strengthen cost-accounting principles and link them more closely with the collective contract and making contracting comprehensive, a new wage system for farm managers, specialists and employees is being introduced, involving fixed rates (standards) based on marketed (gross) output. Corresponding changes have been made in worker wages. Based on specific production conditions, the farms have been allowed to make extensive use of family and individual contracting in crop growing and animal husbandry, as a forms of collective contracting. Wa rates are based on the procedure used by contracting collectives. Enterprise managers have been given the right to make payments in kind to personnel of contracting collectives for up to 25 percent of goods obtained above the contracted volume.

The steps stipulated in the party and government decree call for strengthening economic services and improving planning and economic work on all management levels. Let us admit that the personnel of some agroproms and RAPO and farm managers and specialists have not yet restructured their thinking on an economic basis and frequently continue to work as of old, hoping that, in the final account, all costs, regardless of their nature, will be covered by the state. Some managers and specialists are poorly familiar with current wage conditions, principles of cost accounting and collective contracting and enterprise planning and financing methods, considering this to be a matter for economists and bookkeepers. This approach is inconsistent with contemporary requirements and with the very nature of assignments.

Farm managers and all specialists--technologists, production section chiefs and brigade leaders--must master all the stipulations of the new economic management mechanism, for without this the planned steps will not yield necessary returns. The very first task of the rayon agroindustrial associations and all agroprom bodies is, this very year, to achieve a sharp upsurge in the organization of economic activities in all agroindustrial production sectors.

### III.

The 27th CPSU Congress called for increasing gross agricultural output during the 12th 5-Year Plan by 14-16 percent and to increase the volume of output in the food, meat and dairy industrial sectors by 18-20 percent compared with the previous 5-year plan. By 1990 gross grain harvests must reach 250-255 million tons; meat production (in slaughtered weight), 21 million tons and milk, 110 million tons. The production of other commodities must be increased significantly as well. In order to reach these levels, we must at least double the growth rates of output. This is not easy. However, as the practical experience of the best farms indicate, it is realistic.

The only way to resolve these problems is the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the conversion to intensive crop growing and animal husbandry methods. Here as well priority is given to the human factor, to work with cadres. We must develop an integral system for training and retraining mechanizers and livestock breeders, specialists and managers, and see to it that they are always aware of the achievements of agricultural science and progressive practices. It is precisely cadres which have mastered the new equipment and progressive technology that can ensure high growth rates of output and improved quality.

Kolkhozes and sovkhoses must do everything possible to increase grain production in the immediate future. A proper foundation is being laid for grain cultivation. A conversion is being made to scientific farming systems; fallow areas have almost reached the norm; between 1985 and 1990 the entire increase in chemical fertilizer procurements--about 6 million tons--will be applied under grain crops; the use of organic fertilizer will be increased to 1.5 billion tons; the scale of reclamation will be increased, new equipment will be procured and new strains and hybrids will be introduced.

The main reserve, however, is the widespread conversion to intensive technologies. Experience indicates that with their skillful use farms and entire rayons can increase yields by 8-14 quintals per hectare. Last year 16 million tons of grain were procured additionally through their application. This very year progressive technology will be used in the cultivation of 31 million hectares in grain crops, reaching 60 million in the immediate future.

This pertains to more than grain crops. Kolkhozes and sovkhoses are converting from scientific and production experiments to the wide-scale application of intensive technologies in the cultivation of sugar beets, sunflower, cotton, flax, potatoes and vegetables. This year 6 million hectares in such crops will be cultivated on the basis of such technologies. Such a sharp conversion to intensive technologies requires thorough

preparations and firm scientific support. That is precisely what is being done today by the agroprom, farm managers and specialists and all field workers, who are laying a good foundation for a bountiful harvest. Unquestionably, the new methods for encouraging the production of grain, sugar beets and oleaginous crops will also yield results.

The problem of strengthening the fodder base and balancing proteins and carbohydrates will retain its main role in agricultural production. By 1990 protein and carbohydrate output must reach 534 million tons of fodder units (a 27 percent increase per standard head of cattle).

Special attention is being paid to increasing the production of concentrated fodder and protein from vegetal and animal origin. This 5-year plan, gross harvest of leguminous crops must be doubled; areas in clover and alfalfa must be doubled; sunflower and soybean output must be increased and so must, respectively, the production of oil-cake and molasses. Rape cultivation is a major reserve where no sunflower and soybean are grown.

The production of mixed feeds will increase to 100 million tons and that of microbiological protein doubled; the production of bone meal and fish meal will increase, and that of coarse, fresh and pasture fodder will be developed at a faster rate; natural pastures, covering 16 million hectares, will be radically improved. All such measures will provide animal husbandry with fodder and the more economical use of grain for livestock feeding.

Increased crop productivity will lead to a dynamic animal husbandry. In the course of the implementation of the Food Program we were able to eliminate negative phenomena in this most complex and highly labor-intensive sector. The decline in livestock farm productivity has ended, and meat, milk and egg production has increased. During the first quarter of this year state cattle and poultry purchases (in live weight) increased by 369 thousand tons (7.6 percent); of milk by 766 thousand tons (6.1 percent); and eggs by 743 million (6 percent). Compared with 1985, by 1990 meat production must be increased by 3.9 million tons. This is a very difficult task and the main way to accomplish it is by intensifying animal husbandry in kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

One-half of meat increases must come from cattle. In order to ensure the implementation of assignments, the average live weight of cattle sold to the state must be increased by 50 kilograms, raising it to 400 kilograms by 1990. This is an entirely attainable level. Already now many farms, rayons and even oblasts have reached these indicators. For example, the Lithuanian farms have reached an average cattle delivery weight of 435 kilograms; Moldavia, 428 kilograms, Cherkassy Oblast, 424 kilograms, Belorussia, 404 kilograms; Penza, Kurgan and Kirovograd oblasts and the Tatar ASSR reached 381-398 kilograms.

Hog-breeding intensification will be achieved by converting to the assembly line-shop system, improving the organization of feeding, accelerating herd turnover and crossbreeding.

A great deal remains to be done to intensify sheep breeding and dairy cattle farming and upgrading the production and breed qualities of the dairy herd. Last year milk production per fodder-fed cow in kolkhozes, sovkhozes and

interfarm enterprises averaged 2,453 kilograms nationally; in order to implement the 1990 tasks, productivity must be increased by 250-300 kilograms. This is entirely possible by merely improving cattle feeding and raising. Last year Estonian farms averaged 3,966 kilograms of milk per cow; Moscow Oblast averaged 3,363 kilograms, Krasnodar Kray, 2,994 kilograms and Belorussia, 2,502 kilograms. During the past 5-year period increases averaged 280-350 kilograms of milk per cow in the best rayons, oblasts and republics.

At the same time, we must make much better use of the possibilities of auxiliary farms of enterprises and organizations. A number of examples throughout the country clearly confirm the existence of such a possibility. For example, Glavtyumengazprom set up nine farms; last year, they yielded nearly 26 kilograms of meat and 69 kilograms of milk per worker (the administration employs some 70,000 workers). However, the production of meat and other food items by the auxiliary farms of industrial enterprises in Odessa, Kuybyshev and many other oblasts remains low. The task is to increase organizational work to meet the party requirements in this area.

Considerably more meat and other products for local consumption could be obtained also from the population's private plots. The meat produced here and marketed through the consumer cooperative will be included in the kolkhoz and sovkhoz purchasing plans, as a result of which they will receive price supplements for exceeding the set level. In this manner, each enterprise will be interested in having the private plots produce more and would supply them with fodder, sell them greater numbers of young cattle and organize better produce reception and transportation.

The question of improving population supplies with potatoes, fruits and vegetables assumes great importance. Possibilities of growing adequate amounts of such produce exist in virtually all oblasts, krays and republics. In many areas, however, responsibility for this work sector has declined although the state has invested substantial amounts in the development of fruit and vegetable growing. A total of 4,460 specialized sovkhozes have been set up. Such crops are grown essentially on irrigated land and receive the full norm of chemical fertilizers. However, crops remain low, variety is poor and few fresh crops are reaching the stores.

For example, can we tolerate the fact that the farms in the Mordovian ASSR harvest no more than 63 quintals of potatoes per hectare; respectively, harvests average 65 quintals in Chita and Yaroslavl Oblast, 85 quintals in Orel Oblast and 72 in Ryazan Oblast. A feeling of dependence has led to the fact that in the past 5-year period Ivanovo and Vladimir oblasts have had to import cabbage almost every single year. Yaroslavl and Gorkiy oblasts have lowered their output and have begun to import onions. Even many oblasts in the Ukraine have requested quotas of fruits and vegetables.

Potato, vegetable, fruit and berry crops must be increased greatly. In order to increase incentive and prevent produce losses, kolkhozes and sovkhozes are now allowed to sell to the consumer cooperative and at kolkhoz markets up to 30 percent of their potatoes and fruits and vegetables and their entire above-plan output and to consider these amounts as part of the implementation of the state plan. Exercising this right, the agroindustrial committees themselves



must set the retail prices of perishable produce and bonus prices for some fruits and vegetables sold in their stores.

Therefore, the channels for marketing farm goods have been significantly increased in local areas, kolkhozes and sovkhoses, and the farms have acquired greater merchandising flexibility. The role of the consumer cooperative increases significantly under the new conditions, and its turnover will be rising. It is important for its republic and local organizations and for Tsentrosoyuz, guided by the party and government decrees, to organize without delay the signing of long-term contracts for purchasing produce from kolkhozes and sovkhoses and the population, and to ensure the reliable work of procurement and trade networks. The consumer cooperative must assume firm positions on the kolkhoz markets and actively influence market prices.

In this connection, let us particularly emphasize that the new rules must be firmly observed and in no case should any pressure be exerted on managers of kolkhozes and sovkhoses, which would encourage or, conversely, restrain their aspiration to sell above-plan goods to the consumer cooperatives and on the markets. If violations are allowed to occur, for regional or oblast prestige considerations alone, faith in our decisions will be undermined and restoring it would be difficult.

In recent 5-year periods, for a number of reasons, storing and processing had fallen substantially behind. Substantial losses had occurred in transporting and processing cattle and poultry as a result of insufficient transport and storing facilities and imperfect storing and processing means and methods. This lowers the possibility of improving population food supplies.

Delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress noted that "Many possibilities exist in this respect and additions to food resources could reach 20 and, in the case of some products, even 30 percent. Furthermore, costs of cutting losses down would be reduced by a factor of two or three compared with the need for additional output of the same amount of produce."

Therefore, reducing losses of agricultural commodities by improving storing and processing is one of the most important trends in the activities of the USSR Gosagroprom during the 12th 5-Year Plan and beyond it. The construction of new and reconstruction of old elevators, grain-storing facilities and fixed grain-drying systems is contemplated. The technical standards of enterprises in the flour-groats industry must be raised. We shall convert to hauling flour and mixed feed in bulk, and in containers and packets.

The production and supplies of modern technological equipment will be significantly increased with a view to radically reequipping food industry enterprises. A total of 39 billion rubles will be invested (13 billion more than in the past 5-year period) in the expansion, reconstruction and construction of new processing enterprises during the 12th 5-Year Plan. New refrigeration capacities will be commissioned and consistent steps will be taken to bring processing enterprises, storing facilities and refrigerated areas closer to production areas. Furthermore, the Gosagroprom system will systematically convert to a procedure according to which an increasing share of the output will be picked up directly at kolkhozes and sovkhoses.



The right to independent construction activities assigns great responsibility to managers of enterprises and organizations within the agroindustrial complex. We must bear in mind that now, as a rule, the farms will pay for construction projects out of their own funds. The main attention must be focused on improving the organization of the work, reducing the amount of unfinished construction, making extensive use of local materials and lowering construction costs. The creation of single construction organizations under the RAPO and the agroindustrial committees in oblasts, krais and republics, open vast opportunities for significantly upgrading construction efficiency and expanding the scale of work in creating a powerful infrastructure of the agroindustrial complex and rural social development.

As we pointed out, currently the restructuring of the management of agroindustrial complexes on all levels has been completed. The new bodies are gathering strength and many of them are actively working to perfect their management style and methods. However, by no means are the new opportunities being used efficiently. In a number of oblasts, such as Saratov, meat, milk and dairy industry, construction and other associations have remained virtually intact. This is an indication that departmental interests are continuing to influence the new agroprom bodies. Such timidity and indecisiveness are typical of a number of oblasts in the RSFSR, the Ukraine and Uzbekistan. This would block actual and efficient integration between agriculture and related industrial sectors. Yet this precisely is the principal meaning of the entire organizational-economic restructuring and the advantages it should provide.

Today it is important to complete the plans and combine the interests of kolkhozes and sovkhozes with processing and servicing enterprises within the RAPO and subordinate them to the struggle for high end results. All rayon-level enterprises must become part of the rayon agroindustrial associations.

Extensive work must be done to ensure the practical implementation of the radical concepts contained in the party and government decree. Perfecting planning and expanding the rights of local bodies in the agroindustrial complex presumes pursuing a purposeful investment policy, for substantial funds are being appropriated from the budget, enterprise profits and bank loans. The main thing is to concentrate them in the most important areas and to attain the fastest and highest possible return on investments.

Particular attention must be paid to accelerating scientific and technical progress in all agroindustrial production sectors, from fields and livestock farms to processing enterprises and storage areas. The agroindustrial complex has a strong scientific potential. The tempestuous development of domestic and foreign science opens broad horizons for accelerating intensification on a qualitatively new basis and finding essentially new technological solutions. That is why one of the most important tasks is the practical utilization of the achievements of science and technology.

The creation of scientific-production and production associations and systems based on progressive farms and scientific institutions must be decisively undertaken on the oblast and republic levels. Such base enterprises, which have reached high indicators in the production of sugar beets or corn, for

example, must share their progressive experience with sovkhozes and kolkhozes in their areas on a mutually profitable basis.

Today it is important to shift the center of gravity of all organizational activities to farms, enterprises, fields, livestock farms and shops, thus ensuring the more efficient utilization of the land, production assets, equipment, raw materials and financial and labor resources.

The purpose of contemporary agrarian policy is precisely to make full use of existing production and scientific potential through the reconstruction of management and perfecting the economic mechanism and mobilizing internal reserves and, on this basis, this very 5-year period, achieve radical improvements in ensuring the population with food supplies and the social development of the countryside.

This spring will be the first major test of the agroprom. Kolkhozes, sovkhozes and enterprises engaged in supplying them with production and technical services, are better prepared than last year for the spring sowing. It is important to set the acceleration rhythm precisely in spring, when the foundations are being laid for the harvest and the entire agricultural economy. It is precisely now that each farm must consider its actions in order successfully to complete the wintering of the cattle, cultivate the crops and implement state procurement plans.

The agricultural workers and all working people in the agroindustrial complex, who approve of the strategic decisions of the historical 27th Communist Party Congress entirely and fully, are brimming with resolve to carry out their assignments in increasing food resources and implementing the great program formulated at the congress, a program for creative construction and improved well-being of the Soviet people.

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## MACHINE BUILDING AND SCIENCE IN THE STRATEGY OF ACCELERATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 86 (signed to press 16 Apr 86) pp 36-47

[Article by Academician K. Frolov, USSR Academy of Sciences vice president]

[Text] Industrial sectors which manufacture labor tools and a variety of consumer and defense items, combined within the general concept of machine building, play a special role in a modern economy. Their development level decisively affects social labor productivity, technical progress, the material well-being of the people and the country's defense capability.

The 27th CPSU Congress called for converting to a qualitatively new societal status and to a higher level economic organization and efficiency, with comprehensively developed production forces and mature socialist production relations and a reorganized economic mechanism. This presumes the successful development of machine building as the material foundation for the technical retooling of the national economy. "It is clear," M.S. Gorbachev said at the congress, "that the efficiency of the reconstruction and the pace of economic growth decisively depend on machine building. It is precisely in machine building that fundamental scientific and technical ideas are materialized, and new labor tools and machine systems, which predetermine progress in the other economic sectors, are created. It is here that the foundations are laid for the use of essentially new resource-saving technologies and upgrading labor productivity and production quality."

As was already emphasized at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, during the 12th 5-Year Plan the development of machine building must be given priority. Growth rates in this sector must be accelerated by a factor of 1.5-2; we must rapidly convert to the production of new generation machines and equipment which make possible the use of progressive technologies, comprehensively increase labor productivity, reduce material-intensiveness and increase capital returns. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers passed a decree on the further development of machine building which, in fact, is a national program for modernizing this most important industrial sector. The new tasks it faces call for improving management in this important sector. The USSR Council of Ministers set up a machine-building bureau as a unified management body.

Unfortunately, for a long period of time the USSR Gosplan and other central economic bodies which, while paying lip service to machine building, in fact did not allocate adequate funds for its development. No more than some 5 percent of all industrial capital investments were channeled into civilian machine building during the 11th 5-Year Plan. It was pointed out at the CPSU Central Committee conferences on problems of accelerating scientific and technical progress, which were held in June 1985, that funds invested in heavy and transport machine building were fewer by a factor of 28 than in sectors for which it manufactures such machines; they were fewer by a factor of 18 in machine building for agriculture, by 23 compared to the production of machines and equipment for the light and food industry and 47 compared to chemical and petroleum machine building. These are obviously abnormal proportions.

The party promptly raised the question of a change in attitude toward the machine building complex. The reorganization of investment and structural policy, approved at the 27th CPSU Congress, calls for a redistribution of capital investments in favor of machine building sectors. In civilian machine building ministries such investments will be increased by a factor of 1.8-2 compared with the 11th 5-Year Plan. According to the congress' directives, the renovation of the active part of basic production assets must reach 10-12 percent annually. The radical reconstruction in machine building will be based on the faster development of machine tool building, production of computer equipment, instrument manufacturing and the electrical engineering and electronic industries. The growth rates of output in these sectors will be higher by a 1.3-1.6 factor compared with machine building as a whole.

During the 12th 5-Year Plan the growth rates in this economic sector will be higher by a 1.9 factor compared with industry as a whole. This will strengthen the leading positions of machine building in the national economy.

The structure in machine building output will be changed and the quality features of machines and equipment improved. The annual updating of machine building output will reach 13 percent by 1990 as compared to 4.5 percent in 1985. With the faster growth of machine building, this will lay a firm foundation for the technical retooling of the country's production machinery on a modern basis. "The growing flow of new generation equipment will create conditions for the radical retooling of the national economy and its improved efficiency," M.S. Gorbachev said at the congress. "As a result, we shall be able to economise on the labor of about 12 million people annually, save more than 100 million tons of fuel and increase benefits by many billions of rubles."

The party set the task of reducing the time for the development and mastery of new equipment by a factor of 3-4 and for seeing to it that all newly developed equipment is superior to similar goods currently produced by a factor of no less than 1.5-2 in terms of productivity and reliability.

The main trends in machine building progress are the following:

Technical improvements and updating of design consistent with steadily stricter requirements;

Increasing the unit capacity of machines and equipment within economically justifiable limits;

Lowering production costs per unit of productivity;

Lowering specific metal-intensiveness and power consumption of machines and equipment;

Upgrading the power and reliability of machines, apparatus, technological units and entire production systems;

Using the latest types of technological operations, based on physical-chemical phenomena;

Comprehensive mechanization and automation of technological processes;

Implementing progressive economic and technical-economic solutions which make the practical utilization of the achievements of science and technology more efficient.

The overall result of these trends must be to meet the main indicator of industrial progress: increased labor productivity. In machine building, it should reach 39-43 percent in the new 5-year period, while production costs should decline by 9-11 percent.

The accelerated development of machine building requires the more extensive application of flexible and retunable production facilities and systems for automatic designing, automated lines, machines and equipment with built in microprocessor equipment, multiple-operation machine tools with digital programming and robot, rotary and rotary-conveyer-belt complexes. A major feature of the new stage in the development of this sector is converting to deliveries of comprehensive technological systems and machine sets. The production of high-efficiency machines and equipment for use in Siberia, the Far East and the Extreme North will be increased.

The current reconstruction of machine building output calls for radically improving capital construction, raising the entire construction complex to a new level and substantially perfecting the economics and organization of the production process itself, as stipulated in the documents of the party congress, and shortening the length of the investment cycle.

It is in this light that we must look at the broad front for research which is opened to science. The party has asked the scientists energetically to address themselves to the technical retooling of the national economy, to come closer to the production process, to use to this effect new tried forms of integration and interaction, and to increase their efforts to accelerate the industrial application of achievements, upgrade the creative returns of scientific institutions and VUZs and improve the training of new specialists.

These problems were actively discussed by scientists at the March 1986 general annual meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences, at which they emphasized that the main thing now is to bring into motion the intensification of scientific

activities themselves, to achieve the fastest possible technological utilization of new knowledge and to accelerate the advance from basic to applied research and hence to experimental design and application of new equipment. The decision was made at the meeting to organize a USSR Academy of Sciences Department of Machine Building, Mechanics and Control Processes. The department will conduct basic research and development in the area of modern technical systems and seek new ways and means of perfecting machines and solving topical scientific problems in machine building. Why conceal it, an improper attitude toward the place and role of the technical sciences in basic areas of knowledge developed over a number of years. A number of technical institutes were taken out of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Some of them were repeatedly transferred from one department to another, losing depth and perspective in their studies and scattering creative cadres. At the same time, the network of hastily organized sectorial scientific research institutes, which lacked scientific trends, traditions and a good experimental base expanded. Naturally, it was difficult to expect of them to yield substantial new results. This caused some damage to science and technical progress alike.

Naturally, this does not detract from the merits of excellent sectorial institutes and scientific schools which took decades to develop, such as the Nuclear Energy Institute imeni I.V. Kurchatov, TsAGI, VNIIMetmash and many others, whose accomplishments earned them worldwide fame.

However, the very fact that seeking the solution of many basic technical problems in machine building in general took place outside the academy's system cannot be considered normal. The organization of the new USSR Academy of Sciences Department with its scientific centers in industrially developed parts of the country corrects this situation.

The recently established USSR Academy of Sciences institutes in Leningrad, Sverdlovsk, Ufa and Gorkiy, have undertaken work on most important machine building topics.

The fact that the academic institutes organized a number of laboratories directly at leading machine building plants is of essential importance in accelerating the practical utilization of scientific research.

The USSR Academy of Sciences must continue to develop direct contacts with industry. This not only contributes to the more efficient utilization of scientific potential but also catalyzes its own research, and encourages scientists to work on new problems and assignments, the solution of which requires a basic approach.

Frankly, machine building needs the effective aid of science, for without the proper development of theoretical problems related to updating the technological base, without studies of the structure and properties of progressive structural and other materials, without seeking new ways of ensuring their efficiency and without knowledge of the profound phenomena within matter on the level of its technical utilization no progress in this sector is possible today. Therefore, the establishment of a unified group of scientific disciplines combined under the concept of "machine studies," is a



legitimate act, the purpose of which is to define the trend of long-range research and ways of optimally reaching targets in the development of new machines and machine systems, equipment and instruments, which would be highly reliable, power-saturated and economical, aesthetically designed and operationally safe.

As we know, successes in contemporary machine studies, substantially enriched in recent years as a result of basic achievements in physics, mechanics, chemistry, electronics, computers, automatic control, etc., led to significant progress in domestic machine building. Soviet scientists and specialists have developed advanced automated lines and automatic machines; robot manufacturing is developing and systems of flexible automated production facilities are being applied. Greater attention is being paid to substantially improving the quality of produced machines, meeting contemporary reliability and safety requirements, and to developing essentially new future-generation machines.

This, however, cannot satisfy us today. It is no secret that scientific achievements in the creation and perfecting of machines, instruments and mechanisms and the development of efficient methods for their designing, manufacturing and utilization are not always made available to the broad engineering public and to those who are directly involved in the development of new equipment. Although frequently major machine building results are described in topic collections and found in academic journals, proceedings of various conferences and symposia, requests for invention certificates, candidate and doctoral dissertations and monographs, for long periods of time they are not converted into experimental-industrial prototypes, not to mention manufactured in series. Furthermore, in a number of cases the machine building ministries engage in purchasing relatively new (although not the latest) equipment abroad, ignoring or impermissibly neglecting major domestic accomplishments. It is high time to put an end to such faulty practices.

Let me mention among the relatively new and rapidly developing trends in contemporary technology the case of vibration machines. Vibrations are used in transporting, shifting and separating a variety of substances, in processing construction materials according to specifications, the preparation of dispersion media for the implementation or intensification of technological processes, etc. The theory of such equipment, despite its seeming structural simplicity, is quite complex and its development demands nonlinear mechanics equipment and the extensive use of computers. Theoretical solutions led to the creation of successful prototypes of various vibration systems (available, in particular, at the USSR Academy of Science Institute of Machine Studies, the Mekhanobr Institute, and elsewhere). However, the production in series of machines based on this promising principle is sluggish. The same could be said of highly efficient equipment operating on the basis of wave principles.

The efficient methods for ultrasound processing of materials, with adaptive control, means of using superplasticity and electroplasticity of metals, self-spreading high-temperature synthesis, and others, developed by Soviet scientists, have still not found widespread practical use in machine building sectors. In frequent cases the suggestions and ideas of Soviet scientists are put to use in Western countries faster because of our sluggishness. This is totally inadmissible.

When we speak of the utilization of the most important achievements of the natural sciences, design and technological experience, and of considering contemporary economic, social, ergonomic and ecological requirements in the development of technological systems on a qualitatively new level, this implies the comprehensive solution of problems in the course of designing machines, mechanisms and equipment, etc. It is precisely at the design stage that quality is ensured. At this point a substantial number of frequently rather conflicting factors must be taken into consideration. Thus, a machine must have a minimal weight and sufficient reliability, speed, proper dynamic load capacity, low cost, greater durability, etc. In other words, a selection of optimal parameters--structural, kinematic, dynamic and operational--must be insured in the development of new machines, thus meeting requirements in the best possible way. With current design practices, this problem is resolved by computing several alternate choices. However, traditional selection methods are unsuitable here, for if each 10 parameters are given 10 different values, it would become necessary to consider  $10^{10}$  choices, which would be impossible even with modern computers. That is why the scientists have developed special methods for formulating and solving problems of optimal designing, making use of the "man-computer" dialogue. This has enabled them promptly to weigh and compare a variety of conflicting criteria and has led to the creation of a qualitatively new method for designing quite complex structures.

Designing modern machinery with optimal features calls for a consideration of the growing variety of types of complementing equipment, materials and technology, making this an increasingly complex and labor-intensive process under the conditions of a steady increase in information volumes. More time is needed for designing machines and other technical systems and an increasing number of people are becoming involved in designing. According to published data, about 90 percent of designing time is spent in looking for information, making standard computations, processing results, etc., i.e., on work which could already be performed with computers and a variety of automated systems for processing symbols, drafts and graphic information, thus leaving only 10 percent of the time for creative work.

The not entirely satisfactory quality of engineering design has led to the development of an entire industry related to testing technical systems and their technological finishing, to developing a variety of quality control systems and to increasing the time spent in mastering new items and systems. In many industrial sectors the cost of testing and quality control systems has reached 30 percent of the labor intensiveness needed in their manufacturing. It is logical, therefore, to include in design costs the cost of correcting errors and inefficient solutions unwittingly included in designs developed through traditional methods.

Consequently, the urgent problem of radically restructuring the entire technology of design and ensuring its maximal automation has arisen in its full magnitude. Of late, for example, work has been undertaken to develop automated systems for computing and designing internal combustion engines in motor manufacturing, which is an important subsector of the Ministries of Automotive Industry, Heavy and Transport Machine Building and Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building. So far, however, such work is being done with small forces and without intersectorial cooperation. Together with the

interested ministries and the recently organized State Committee for Computers and Informatics, the Academy of Sciences will formulate and apply measures to energize the creation and application of automated comprehensive systems for designing, research and finishing internal combustion engines and establishing a proper powerful computer facility by combining experience acquired in other sectors. It would be expedient to organize under the academy's scientific methodical guidance an intersectorial center for program support for systems of automatic design and flexible automated production facilities.

Progress in machine building is based not only on new engineering-design solutions but also largely on progressive technologies which provide the necessary working life and reliability of machines and equipment. The growing significance of such indicators is determined by the steady increase of requirements governing modern equipment quality and growing complexity.

Reliability is a comprehensive concept which includes not only reliability and durability but also convenience of repairs and maintenance or, in a word, features which determine the efficient utilization of the equipment and which preserve the quality of devices under specific operational conditions.

A necessary level of reliability is already contemplated at the stage of machine design. Nevertheless, it is essentially ensured in machine manufacturing, which determines its virtually total dependence on technology. Therefore, in addition to present sufficiently well developed methods of assessment and stochastic analysis, clone methods, etc., we must also raise to the proper level and ensure the extensive utilization in basic machine building sectors of means and methods of ensuring and maintaining reliability and extending the service life of machines and equipment. This must be achieved in accordance with ergonomic and ecological factors, on the basis of extensive studies of the "man-machine-environment" system.

We must point out, however, that difficulties in the accelerated implementation of available progressive design, technological and material-study solutions, which ensure the high level of quality of machine building items are largely caused the major problems of finding skilled cadres and equipping experimental facilities. This applies, above all, to sectors such as machine building for the light and food industries and for agricultural, road-construction, mining and timber industry machine building.

We must admit that in a number of cases the actual reliability indicators of some domestically manufactured items prove to be substandard. The study of the reasons for breakdowns indicates that a significant percentage of them are caused by violations of technological discipline and operating rules. Furthermore, according to expert evaluations, substantial damages are caused by corrosion in the chemical and petrochemical industries, in petroleum and natural gas extraction and transportation, in the power industry, agriculture and railroad transportation.

For a number of years the amount of idling caused by sudden equipment failures and length of current repairs of a number of mass-produced machine and equipment models, has remained virtually unchanged.

At the present stage in the scientific and technical revolution, the problem of manpower is resolved through the comprehensive automation of production and the automation and mechanization of labor-intensive operations. The result is that the national economy is becoming saturated with complex machines and machine units, which require additional outlays for technical servicing and more complex repairs. Unless we reach the necessary standard of reliability and the required span of faultless work, such outlays will become even greater. Therefore, the utilization of the latest scientific achievements in the development of reliable machines and designs becomes a major tool in solving the problem of manpower savings in production and in technical servicing and repairs.

It would be pertinent to note in this connection that the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Machine Studies has completed a number of basic projects which lay a scientific base for ensuring machine and mechanism reliability. Criteria equations and standards for determining the durability, resistance to wear, power and vibration safety of technical systems have been developed together with sectorial scientific research institutes and design bureaus. Such developments are being applied in the manufacturing of nuclear reactors, fuel power systems and corresponding technological equipment. They apply in this area the achievements of a young science--destruction mechanics--which enables us to resolve the problem of setting standards of admissibility of defects in design, depending on the degree of loading and level of utilization of nondestructive control. The USSR Academy of Sciences IMASH has developed prototypes of original self-lubricating, antifriction and friction materials. It has also developed ways and means of lubrication with gas, water, etc. The institute's scientists have synthesized new lubricant additives which enable us substantially to increase the sturdiness of machine parts. Based on results of scientific studies, the machine building industry is already producing a number of very reliable and durable items. However, the question of extensively application progressive technological solutions remains quite relevant.

Methods of case hardening which, with properly applied technological processes, enable us to double or triple the fatigue limit of parts, while increasing their sturdiness, are insufficiently applied. Such methods are both traditional (chemical-heat processing, case plastic deformation and case hardening) as well as new (plasma spray-coating, laser processing, ion implantation, etc.).

The treating of newly designed (or updated) machines and equipment for reliability is frequently hindered by the lack of complete information on the reliability of the components of the item (standard parts and assemblies above all) under different operational conditions and loads. No work on summing up the very valuable operational information on reliability is being done on an intersectorial scale. The USSR Gosstandart must assume this obligation.

Existing legal and standardizing technical documents do not cover all cases covered by guarantees for items and complementing attachments or a guaranteed time and indicators of reliability. The manufacturer does not bear material liability for violations of reliability indicators for the period under guarantee.

In machine building, the organization of the work on upgrading the reliability of items and the organization of reliability services obey a variety of principles and essentially rely on personal initiative. No standardizing documents have been formulated to regulate the structure, personnel and nature of the work on upgrade the reliability of machines and equipment (other than recommendations which are useful but not mandatory).

Standardization, technical diagnosis and metrology are major factors in ensuring the production of high-quality machine building output while, at the same time, lowering production material-intensiveness and labor outlays. We know that poor metrological support in the production, repair and use of various items is one of the main reasons for the subjective evaluation of item quality, due to unreliable information. The dates for periodic checking of measurement, control, diagnostic and testing devices should be given an adequate scientific base.

The problem of restructuring the overall technical control system is exceptionally topical. M.S. Gorbachev indicated the need for a system of state acceptance of output in his speech at the meeting with working people in Togliatti. The examples he cited clearly proved the efficiency of delivering goods by the OTK to USSR Gosstandart representatives at first presentation.

Unfortunately, the means and methods of analysis of the technical condition of technological items are still insufficiently used in a number of machine building sectors: built-in diagnostic means and other measures aimed at upgrading the controllability of technical projects are not stipulated in developing machine, equipment and technological designs. The serial production of high-quality diagnostic means in the required volumes and variety, must be organized within the shortest possible time.

According to current practices, most machine building enterprises are engaged in the production of the entire range of necessary machine parts and assemblies, although many of them are of intra- or intersectorial nature; this applies to fuel equipment, hydraulic and pneumatic assemblies, slide bearings, brakes, couplings, fastenings, vibration dampeners, seals, and others. The lack of proper specialization in the production, study and development of such items results not only in their low reliability but also in unjustifiably higher manufacturing costs.

Essentially, repair enterprises eliminate a great share of the responsibility of manufacturers for their output and of consumers for the exploitation of the machinery. We believe that the time has come substantially to increase the practice of machine repairs by the manufacturers themselves.

For many years a disproportion has remained between the production of entire machines and spare parts for them. This error is invariably repeated with each new machine model. It has become traditional to give priority to the production of entire machines compared with spare parts which, psychologically as well as economically are considered a matter of secondary importance.

To this day no system has been developed for providing moral and material incentives for ensuring the necessary standards of reliability and for



applying items with increased power and better operational and technical features. Under the conditions of accelerated scientific and technical progress in machine building, indicators of reliability, metal-intensiveness and power consumption of produced machinery must become basic in assessing the activities of industrial enterprises.

The tremendous possibilities of reaching high quality standards of machines on the basis of basic and applied research are insufficiently used in a number of machine building sectors; in a number of cases obsolete durability standards are used. The experience of progressive sectors, which are confidently applying the latest materials and technologies in series production, is being poorly disseminated.

The solution of machine reliability problems must be most closely related to reducing metal-intensiveness on the basis of the application of progressive computation methods, reducing excess durability, increasing the scale of industrial output, applying composition materials and making extensive use of efficient means for protecting and hardening the surfaces of machine parts and structural elements.

Greater attention must be paid to the development of tribology, the science of machine friction, lubrication and wear. Today problems of the reliability of friction areas which, in the majority of cases, determine the overall service life of machines, cannot be resolved without applying its recommendations.

Of late a number of academic institutes, the Machine-Studies Institute imeni A.A. Blagonravov in particular, have substantially broadened and intensified specific studies in the area of reliability, developing and strengthening scientific relations with leading scientific centers such as TsAGI MVTU imeni N.E. Bauman, TsNII imeni A.N. Krylov, TsNIITMASH and others, as well as with head design bureaus of advanced machine building sectors. The USSR Academy of Sciences scientific councils, the Council on Problems of Machine Building and Technological Processes in particular, and others, sponsor seminars on machine studies, which systematically coordinate scientific research in this area.

Substantive reports were submitted by academicians G.V. Novozhilov, N.D. Kuznetsov and G.P. Svishchev and USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member P.N. Belyanin and others at the scientific session on machine building reliability problems, sponsored by the USSR Academy of Sciences Department of Mechanics and Control Processes, presented jointly with representatives of industry.

An all-union scientific-technical reliability program has been drafted jointly with the GKNT. The Academy of Sciences and the USSR Gosplan are drafting a joint metal-intensiveness program.

Studies of and work on automation of production processes and the working life of big power equipment, manufactured on the basis of socialist integration, are being conducted by the USSR Academy of Sciences IMASH and other academic institutes within the framework of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress of CEMA Member Countries Until the Year 2000.



The intensification and development of a comprehensive approach to ensuring the reliability of machine building items, through the efficient combination of basic solutions of problems of theory and reliability and applied problems of upgrading the machine life and designs is becoming one of the most important tasks in contemporary machine studies.

Academician G.P. Svishchev justifiably believes that in this case the following problems are of essential significance:

Developing the theory of reliability of mass-produced goods and of small-series important and complex machines and unique designs from which unique models are produced;

Developing basic and applied concepts of means and methods of determining work life and reliability in accordance with the interaction of structural, technological and operational factors, such as levels of local and nominal stress, dynamics and cyclical nature of loads, temperature ranges, influence of corrosion environments and radiations, material structure and properties, and the existence of welds, linings and other coating;

Creating and extensively applying in design practices efficient systems for controlling the condition of machine and structural parts bearing the heaviest loads and subject to damage from high stress, vibrations, corrosion and wear;

Drafting sets of sectorial and governmental and CEMA standards and other leading standardizing technical documents which would regulate requirements and methods for determining the service life and reliability of machines and structures.

Of late the party and the government have taken a number of specific steps to perfect mechanisms for the mastery and application of scientific achievements in the national economy. The creation of intersectorial scientific and technical complexes is of essential significance. The USSR Academy of Sciences is heading complexes in promising areas, such as personal computers, fiber optics, machine reliability, industrial lasers and biotechnology.

One of the features of such complexes is combining leading academic and sectorial institutes and SKB with plants and with higher school chairs. This is a new more advanced form of organization of collective scientific work based on single priority targets. Within the framework of the Machine Reliability Complex, the USSR Academy of Sciences Department of Problems of Machine Building, Mechanics and Control Processes is working on the creation of diagnostic means without which no efficient steps can be taken in analyzing the actual load and condition of machines and structures, optimizing structural shapes and accurately choosing the type of materials and technologies which will ensure the necessary reliability and service life and, at the same time, lower material intensiveness.

Special problem-oriented structures, known as "engineering centers," are a major step in strengthening relations between science and production. They must be based on the facilities of academic institutes and subunits of experimental and industrial bases.

The creation of engineering centers was launched by the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Electric Welding Institute imeni Ye.O. Paton, which is currently operating as a powerful intersectorial scientific and technical complex.

The establishment of new structures in the country, such as intersectorial scientific and technical complexes, calls for laying a proper legal foundation and developing an efficient theoretically substantiated economic model for their functioning in accordance with the acceleration strategy. We must note, unfortunately, that the initial stage in organizing work on a system of intersectorial scientific and technical complexes has been delayed inadmissibly.

Under the new conditions, when the fastest possible utilization of the achievements of basic science in industrial practices must be achieved, the activities of the entire academic-scientific system require a priority retooling of the experimental and computer facilities of academic institutes.

At the 27th Party Congress I mentioned that we must also improve information support for developers of new equipment. Today industry, engineers and designers urgently need fast information on the latest scientific achievements in a form maximally convenient and accessible for understanding and practical utilization, which would include the use of the latest information facilities, such as automated data banks and problem-oriented data bases. This does not eliminate the relevance of drafting up-to-date reference manuals for industry workers. In my view, it is absolutely necessary urgently to undertake work on a machine building encyclopedia, which would reflect the latest achievements in this science at home and abroad.

The intensified integration between scientific and technical progress and the development of all aspects of social practices presumes a closer than ever interaction between natural and technical sciences, on the one hand, and the social sciences, on the other. This enhances the responsibility of machine experts and builders in solving problems of the social and ecological consequences of scientific and technical progress, the utilization of the basic advantages of socialism in this area and combining them with the latest scientific achievements and, particularly, with the priority trends stipulated in the CPSU programmatic documents.

Today the tasks of scientific and technical progress formulate quite strict requirements concerning the professional and general training of our cadres, their standards and their civic qualities. The academic scientific institutions urgently need reinforcements consisting of talented young people, an influx of fresh forces.

In connection with the initiated reorganization of higher education, allow me to express the wish that students in technical VUZs be exposed as early as possible to this specific and responsible matter by assigning them directly to enterprises for the completion of their course or graduation projects, giving them industrial assignments. It would be expedient to develop a system of base organizations which would include the leading institutes of the USSR Academy of Sciences, industrial scientific research institutes and specialized VUZ chairs. Let me refer to the experience gained in the joint efforts of the

USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Machine Studies and the MVTU imeni N.E. Bauman, which has yielded positive results.

The scientific research centers which upgrade the skills of engineering cadres must become a mandatory component of intersectorial scientific and technical complexes. This will make it possible to create conditions for the efficient retraining of specialists in the new industrial sectors, which must become the true promoters of scientific and technical progress in the country's machine building enterprises. The creative growth of such engineers must be comprehensively encouraged and favorable conditions must be provided which will enable them to defend their dissertations based on results embodied in highly efficient machines and other technical projects.

We must also use all available means and methods for enhancing the spirit of romanticism in the technical sciences and upgrading the prestige of engineering work by comprehensively encouraging youth scientific and technical creativity, which must be organized on a new sociogovernmental basis. In resolving problems of integrating science with machine building, however, we must not fall into excessive technicalism: we must not allow any decline in the level of basic research by academic institutions, drawing their forces away from long-term developments and wasting their creative potential on resolving individual practical problems which are within the possibilities of sectorial organizations.

Never before has the role of science been so high and important as it is now. The Soviet scientists fully realize this and will spare no efforts to answer with new creative accomplishments the concern of the Communist Party for the further development of science for the good of the people.

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NEW WAY OF THINKING AND WORKING: CONGRESS DELEGATES SPEAK

ENERGETIC RESPONSE TO THE PARTY'S WORDS

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[Article by Academician Hero of Socialist Labor V. Semenikhin]

[Text] Allow me to share a few thoughts while still under the impression of the past forum of Soviet communists. About 1 year has passed since the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. However (speaking frankly) by no means has the work been restructured everywhere in accordance with its resolutions. In only a few cases could this be explained with the force of inertia of the old approaches to the work or the inability of many managers to realize the gravity of the moment.

The period of "oscillation," which is dragging here and there, may be explained, in my view, by the insufficient professional and technical training of some leading cadres. Hence their inability to formulate the type of specific and extremely stressed production intensification programs in their sectors, consistent with current requirements.

We are familiar with many cases in which the acceleration of scientific and technical progress has shown radical improvements following the appointment to in some organizations, shops, enterprises or sectors specialists who possess the latest knowledge and, corresponding moral-civic qualities. It is precisely thus that the role of the human factor is manifested with particular clarity and sharpness. That is why one of the primary tasks in the implementation of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress is to reinforce the leading cadres in all economic units with young innovative engineers, who have energetically mastered the new equipment and new management methods, and to give our maximal trust and assistance to such specialists.

The situation is such that the time has come for experience-wise economic managers and tried captains of industry, whose merits and high real potential are unquestionable, to "plunge" more profoundly into the achievements of science and technology and personally to participate in the creative development and mastery of essentially new ideas included in the program for production automation and mechanization.

In order to accomplish this, obviously many of them will have to increase their knowledge and eliminate the "blank spots" in their understanding of crucial technical problems of intensification. It is particularly important

to master, albeit in general terms, an understanding of the nature and possibilities of computers and microelectronics, for it is precisely their use that opens new and sometimes surprisingly efficient opportunities for the intensification of a great variety of production processes and planning and managerial activities.

The same applies to many other accomplishments of scientific and technical progress, by no means always known to our production organizers, who graduated a long time ago and, because of current concerns, have paid no attention to many new developments. That is why we must drastically increase our attention to retraining leading cadres in our national economy. In my view, in addition to the full-time cadre retraining systems operated in the individual sectors (let us note the occasionally obviously inefficient nature of such systems), a more efficient and purposeful method for retraining leading personnel on the job must be extensively applied through independent work with technical publications and equipment, based on individual plans and with the guidance of competent specialists acting in the capacity of consultants-advisors.

Lately there has been a great deal of talk to the effect that VUZ scientists and academic and sectorial institutes should give greater practical assistance to industry in the development and application of intensification programs. The country has a tremendous scientific potential which, however, so far has been insufficiently used in resolving problems of accelerating socioeconomic development. M.S. Gorbachev's report emphasized that the reconstruction of material production "sets new tasks to science," and that "the CPSU will systematically pursue a line of comprehensive strengthening of its material and technical base and create conditions for fruitful scientific activities. However, the country is entitled to expect of them discoveries and inventions which will lead to truly revolutionary changes in equipment and technological developments."

In my view, the heads of enterprises and industrial sectors must more daringly use the help of scientists and creative engineers on a contractual basis, through cooperation or any other method, without hoping for a centralized solution of such problems. The extensive and comprehensive development of cooperation between science and production will, unquestionably, have a tremendous influence on public production intensification and on accelerating the pace of economic and social development.

Preparations for and implementation of long-term steps for the radical retooling of a production sector, shop or plant presumes the extensive utilization of new scientific ideas, inventions and rationalization suggestions, which yield fast economic returns; the creative activities of frontranking workers and engineers must be comprehensively supported and encouraged, activities which have noticeably intensified under the influence of the resolutions of the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum; the activities of the local sections of engineering and technical societies must be extensively encouraged.

The management of such a project must not be put in the hands of second-rate individuals, as is sometimes the case. This is a major intensification reserve. The political significance of this area is equally important, for

technical creativity is one of the very important forms of mass social work.

Another problem is that of robots, of flexible automated production (GAP) and other modern means of production automation. The expediency of developing GAP, based on the classical variant--an unmanned assembly line which would combine automatic machines (robots) tuned to perform the necessary technological operations--must be analyzed in each separate case on the basis of economic considerations and possibilities of implementation under specific conditions and within the necessary time limit.

The same applies to the development of automated plants, which are a combination of GAP, with interconnected automatic transportation and warehousing systems. It frequently turns out that the problem can be simplified without any detriment to economic results by stipulating in the formulation of the project for one type of automated system or another the use of people engaged in specific operations, the automation of which would make automation facilities excessively complex. This is well known to the specialists. Nevertheless, it sometimes happens that long years are spent in developing a totally automated (and, therefore, excessively complex) system or robot, the manufacturing of which requires significant outlays but insignificant results. A typical example of such "automation for its own sake" was cited by Academician A.G. Aganbegyan in his address at the June 1985 CPSU Central Committee conference on the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. In one enterprise he was shown a robot on the development of which a great deal of funds and several years of work of skilled specialists had been invested. It turned out, however, that this automatic machine, which replaced one worker, required the steady services of a technician. Such automation is worthless although, in all likelihood, this development was included in the enterprise's reports as having been successfully implemented in accordance with the production modernization plan.

The possibilities of automation with the use of computers are quite substantial. The point is to achieve maximal technical and economic results with optimal outlays for their development, manufacturing and operation. The development of automation facilities must be planned not in terms of robots, flexible automated production systems, etc., as is frequently the case now, but in terms of the number of workers who will be actually released after the installation of such facilities and the time needed for the recovery of their manufacturing costs.

I have merely mentioned a few "surface" problems among many. Drawing attention to this problems today, when workers in science and production are comprehensively undertaking the implementation of the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress, is, in my view, particularly relevant.

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#### GREATER CONCERN FOR THE PERSON

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 86 (signed to press 16 Apr 86) pp 50-54

[Article by D. Artsimenya, chairman, Grodno Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee]

[Test] At the beginning of this year, the commission on consumer goods and public services of both chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet considered the work of the soviets in our oblast in an area which, until recently, was justifiably known as the basis for a good mood. The discussion was extensive and serious. The deputies praised the successes achieved by the oblast, sternly criticized shortcomings and looked at problems closely. The main result of this meeting can be described briefly: greater attention for the person! Is this not the prime objective of the soviets of people's deputies?

M.S. Gorbachev pointed out in the CPSU Central Committee political reports to the 27th Party Congress: "In receiving the mandate of the voters, the local authorities assume responsibility for all aspects of life on their territory. Whereas an individual could say, this is not my concern, the same is unacceptable in the case of the soviets."

Grodno Oblast fulfilled its plan for the development of the service industry for the 5-year period; material facilities have been increased substantially. Disparities among the levels of social and cultural services provided to town and country are steadily diminishing. Today each oblast kolkhoz and sovkhos has, if not a consumer services building, in any case a comprehensive reception center. Last year per-capita consumer services averaged 58 rubles in towns and 46 rubles in villages. This is one of the best results in the country. As a result of the steps we took, aimed at the mandatory participation of all enterprises and organizations in increasing paid consumer population services, during the past 5 years they increased by one-third and last year they averaged 145 rubles per person.

As to variety of services, we are trying to march in step with the time. The characteristic features here are a fast increase in people's requirements, and the increased complexity of the material microenvironment needed to satisfy the requirements of the individuals. Fashion changes quickly and quantitatively, and people's wardrobes are no longer what they used to be not so long ago. The number of complex household machines and appliances is

increasing. The development of gardening associations has generated many new demands.

During the 5-year period the oblast developed and produced more than 3,000 models of clothing, knitted goods, shoes and headgear and 40 different types of services, such as cleaning and dying items made of natural fur, leather, sheepskin and suede, plowing garden plots, processing farm produce and many others. Today the Grodno Oblast population enjoys more than 700 types of services.

However, the study of oblast statistics and reality itself indicate that substantial possibilities exist for radically improving matters in this area. Following are a few figures which convincingly prove the extensive possibilities of increasing quantitative and qualitative indicators. Sales of consumer services per person in 12 of the 22 oblasts, rayons and cities are below the republic average. In a number of cases the gap between town and country indicators exceeds 50 percent. In this connection, it is understandable that today merely the "constant attention" paid by local soviets to services is clearly insufficient. Maximally energetic and persistent work is needed along with daring decisions and their consistent implementation.

What are the main guidelines for future activities? Unquestionably, they include the further strengthening and development of material and technical facilities in consumer service sectors. Practical experience confirms that funds allocated for such purposes are entirely justified. It is precisely the reconstruction and technical retooling of existing production facilities and the opening of new enterprises and facilities with modern equipment that greatly determined the substantial results achieved in the past 5-year period and the confident start of the new one. Our newly completed projects include the Raduga Knitted Goods Factory, the service building in Lida and the Berezovka settlement, about 100 studios, workshops and reception centers in residential urban microrayons, industrial enterprises and hostels, and 25 self-service laundromats in the villages. However, by no means has everything been done. The comprehensive program for the development of the production of consumer goods and services in the oblast for the period until the year 2000 stipulates, in particular, a 50 percent increase in the volume of paid services and a substantial increase in their variety over the 5-year period. Obviously, this cannot be achieved without the further strengthening of material and technical facilities.

Unquestionably, we have been able to improve the structure of services and increase their variety. However, demand for new types of services is not still countered by proper supply. For example, services available in the cultivation of garden plots remain rather modest for the time being. That is why we are planning the further development of centers in gardening cooperatives for processing vegetables and fruits and organizing trade in farm tools, equipment and instruments. We would also like to help truck gardeners to develop collective workshops for odd jobs.

Or let us consider tourist services. The Grodno area has a number of historical monuments and beautiful nature. However, for the time being trade

union committees, excursion bureaus and enterprise collectives make rather poor use of the existing opportunities for organizing outdoor recreation. We must create without delay good skiing centers, camping grounds and tent setting facilities for tourists; naturally, we must also plan for the type of services which will make a trip or a hike entirely comfortable.

Our experience, as well as that of others, proves that improving services always implies initiative and the search for new means and methods of work. Here is a one example: 3 years ago, the population of Mostovskiy Rayon had to travel quite a distance, sometimes outside the oblast, in an effort to find skilled workers who could make shaft rings, repair houses and set up furnaces. Traveling on the bumpy roads in the rayon was no simple matter. On the suggestion of the rayon executive committee we set up here an interfarm association for communal services. This year, the association is planning to provide the rural population with services worth 450,000 rubles. Intrafarm roads are being repaired, there are no problems with house repairs and improvements; a new concrete-making shop is capable of meeting all village needs. Naturally, the association includes a beauty salon, a workshop and a shop for television and radio repairs. Obviously, such substantial results would have been impossible by opening small and weak centers dispersed among the rayon farms.

Yes, the local soviets can do a great deal on their territory. However, the problems we are facing today demand considerably closer cooperation among local soviet bodies and central sectorial organizations and their regional representatives. As the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress noted, the party's social policy is comprehensive and entirely realistic. However, the success of its implementation will depend to a decisive extent on the social orientation of cadres and their persistence and initiative. Concern for the specific needs of the people should be the subject of tireless attention on the part of party, soviet and economic organizations and trade unions and all managers. Only thus can major shortcomings in the service area be eliminated.

For example, apartment repairs last year accounted for no more than 9 percent of the overall volume of repair and construction services provided in the oblast. The reason? The acute shortage of high quality finishing materials and complementing items for built-in furniture. Yet population demand is precisely oriented toward the type of services which will make premises truly comfortable and beautiful. Or else, let us consider repairs and technical servicing of private transportation. Here as well we have a chronic shortage of spare parts and scarcity of production premises.

The reason for the existing situation is departmental lack of coordination and the insufficient influence of local soviets on activities of ministries responsible for such work areas. This makes extremely important the conclusion included in the Central Committee political report: the possibilities of soviets remain limited in resolving a number of problems of local importance. There is excessive centralization in areas which are by no means always visible from the center and which could be solved locally much better. Numerous examples could be cited confirming the great accuracy of this statement.

For example, various enterprises under the USSR Ministry of Automotive Industry and BeSSR Ministry of Automotive Transport deal with motor vehicle repairs; the republic ministries of housing economy and consumer services and some union-republic organizations deal with apartment repairs. Whereas the republic ministries take our requests into consideration to a certain extent, some union ministries virtually ignore them. Let me mention the following cases:

In accordance with the oblast program, by the end of the current 5-year plan enterprises under union jurisdiction should increase the volume of paid services by a factor of 1.9 and, by the year 2000, 2.4. Of the 23 enterprises under union jurisdiction operating in the oblast, however, by 1 January 1986 only six plants and associations had received their assignments on the development of services. The others had no such plans not only for the 5-year period and beyond it, but even for 1986. Naturally, this cannot satisfy us. Our position, however, is one thing, and specific possibilities, is something else. On two separate occasions the oblast executive committee turned to the ministries of automotive industry, radio industry, machine tool building and communications, requesting a change in the attitude toward regional tasks of improving the well-being of the working people. Their attitude is changing with inadmissible slowness. Thus, the Ministry of Automotive Industry issued its enterprises' assignments on basis of last year's level. To this day, the Ministry of Electrical Equipment Industry and the Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances have not planned the assignments for paid services for their enterprises.

We are experiencing substantial difficulties in cooperating with enterprises under union jurisdiction also because volumes of paid services are set by their respective ministries and departments and the enterprises coordinate with the executive committees of local soviets no more than a specific list of services to be provided. The mechanics are simple: the center fears that the local authorities may overtax enterprises with assignments outside the basic plan indicators. In my view, such fears are groundless, for we are in favor of joint discussion rather than making our suggestions mandatory. Naturally, thus issued assignments on the growth of services and the production of consumer goods should be as mandatory to enterprises as the production of basic items. In our view, such steps have become fully necessary as they are part of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress.

In our view, a major problem which must be resolved without delay is that of local soviet withholdings from capital investments in housing, which are inconsistent with demand. They total 0.4 percent. Such funds are clearly insufficient in organizing services in new residential districts. This results in a number of complaints on the lack of dry cleaning facilities, service workshops, beauty salons and laundromats. Furthermore, the construction of cooperative housing is increasing rapidly and no withholdings are being made on the basis of its volume. As a result, consumer service enterprises in the new residential areas are fewer by a factor of 3-4 compared with older urban residential districts.

What is the solution? According to our estimates, withholdings of no less than 0.5 percent must be made for expanding consumer services. The funds to

be withheld should come not only from state capital investments in housing but should also be based on the volume of cooperative housing construction. Naturally, we are not suggesting that service enterprises be built at the expense of the new owners. The people have paid their share and helped the state and they should be thanked for it. However, cooperative housing is built in the majority of cases by ministries and departments. It is they who should show concern for their own workers by transferring to the local soviets funds for consumer enterprises, which otherwise the soviets would have obtained from state-financed housing construction.

Today in our plans we assign a special role to energizing the work of deputies of local soviets and the personnel of soviet bodies. We firmly intend to make a systematic study of population demand for goods and services and take into consideration public opinion on the work of soviets of people's deputies. We shall continue to broaden and intensify existing experience in population surveys and sponsor days dedicated to consumer services and open letters. Whatever specific matters we may be dealing with, however, everyone should remember the instruction to the soviets issued at the Party Congress: Truly prove yourselves and be most strictly accountable for what you are doing, as is demanded by the people of which you are a particle.

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## OVERCOMING FORMALISM

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[Article by V. Samodrin, chairman, Dnepropetrovsk Oblast Trade Union Council]

[Text] In sharing their impressions of the 27th Party Congress, a number of delegates and guests mention with particular satisfaction the atmosphere of sincerity and great comradely frankness which prevailed. It is true that this was one of the most outstanding distinguishing feature of the congress, dictated by the party's aspiration to encourage the maximal energy of the entire people and to make every Soviet person aware of the scale and gravity of the country's tasks. Today no area mentioned by the congress can be successful without a systematic and persistent initiative of the working people, which can be manifested, expanded and strengthened only in an atmosphere of honest and frank discussion of difficulties and ways of surmounting errors and the sluggish power of inertia. We must actively counteract formalism, which is fatal to any live project. I remember the emotion with which I.N. Molodets, head of a mining brigade at the Marganets Ore-Dressing Combine, delegate to the 27th CPSU Congress, said to me during one of the short breaks between sessions: "So, our thoughts are being voiced from the rostrum. This is a good time for work!" And so it is.

It was not in vain that Ivan Nikolayevich Molodets then spoke of trust as a characteristic feature of our time. There was a time when occasionally the initiative expressed by the slogan "Collective Guarantee for Labor and Social Discipline," which he and a group of other brigade leaders from different enterprises in Sverdlovsk Oblast had launched, occasionally encountered indifference or open opposition. Why? The initiative presumes the assumption of moral and material responsibility by the brigade, sector or shift for the work of every member of a collective. Understandably, such a sharp and specific formulation of the problem was by no means to everyone's liking. There were a number of arguments on the suitability of such an approach and the extent to which it was consistent with labor legislation, for what it actually meant was that if someone were to be absent everyone would lose his bonus. From the formal viewpoint this was unfair. But what if the essence of this initiative were to be given a closer look?

Practical experience proved that the labor collective had the right to assume such obligations on a voluntary basis. The reason for their adoption was the



basic, the legitimate interest of people who were unwilling to tolerate the harm caused by drunks and truants. Currently more than 270,000 workers in the oblast are participating in the movement for collective labor and social discipline guarantee. It is noteworthy that more than 7,000 production managers, from shift foreman to enterprise director and party and trade union worker have joined the initiative by signing such obligations. Naturally, all of them, like thousands of other participants in the initiative, welcomed with approval the statement included in the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress to the effect that, step by step, the range of problems on which the decision of the labor collective is final, should be expanded.

Long and accurate observations have shown that the level of initiative and its quality, so to say, are directly related to the nature of the tasks formulated by life itself. If they affect the people, practical suggestions on expanding the initial idea are bound to appear. Here meaningless discussions and ostentatious measures have no place. Let me put it this way: initiative demands a specific approach. It cannot exist and develop unless it yields real results. This is convincingly confirmed by the application of the experience of Dnepropetrovsk combine manufacturers, who are actively applying the system of job certification and job rationalization, which was approved by the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Council of Ministers and the AUCCTU.

Understandably, the main point of the certification is the study of work place equipment, servicing, planning, working conditions and technical norming. This is also consistent with the main interest of the industrial worker. To a certain extent each of these factors involves trade union rights. How better to allocate efforts and what should be given priority? From the very beginning of the certification we gave the trade union committees the task not only of helping to find technical reserves but also upgrading the activeness and interest of the working people in this project and train cadres in this new activity.

The result of the joint efforts are encouraging. For example, last year some 4,700 work places were closed down as unnecessary; 5,300 units of obsolete equipment were dismantled and approximately 31,000 square meters of production area were freed. More than 7,000 people moved to sectors with improved working conditions. The benefits of the certification exceeded 17 million rubles in a single year.

What did we learn and are still learning in the course of job certification? To begin with, the oblast trade union workers and the aktiv clearly realized that they could not approach formally such an important project, blindly duplicating the experience of the combine manufacturers. They can only use as a base the certification method and the principles applied in assessing individual work places and use them according to the specific nature of the enterprise. For example, at the Dnepropolimer mash metallurgical equipment works, where customized items are produced, the certification included brigade working areas. At the Dneprospe tsstroy Trust, construction areas were certified. In a word, we are trying to extract something useful not for the sake of accountability but for the people who work here.

Secondly, the intensified study of current problems at oblast enterprises has helped us accurately to define objectives and ways of attaining them through labor rivalry and avoid vague far-fetched slogans. For example, the initiative launched by frontranking collectives under the slogan "High Quality Output At Each Certified Work Place" is spreading in the oblast.

As a whole, the oblast enterprise trade union committees are directing the participants in the competition for solving priority problems, such as increasing labor productivity, capital returns and quality, lowering production costs, conserving resources of all kinds, and strengthening discipline. Unquestionably, these guidelines will be applied in the further certification of more than 250,000 work places.

The materials of the 27th CPSU Congress note that the still frequently encountered passive attitude of trade union committees suits economic managers who consider the production process more important than the person. To the trade unions, however, social policy and the interests of the working people must always take priority. This, precisely, is the basic meaning of our activities. That is why we have now extensively undertaken to improve production conditions in labor collectives. Quite frequently, to this day, we come across the following situation: work places at enterprises are saturated with new equipment, the shops become brighter and cleaner while the improvements in facilities for people at work (locker rooms, showers, cafeterias) fall behind substantially. The study of the data obtained in the course of work place certifications indicated that unless this gap is eliminated the effect of production rationalizations and modernizations will be insignificant.

Not so long ago the oblast trade union council suggested to the obkoms of sectorial trade unions and the trade union committees at big enterprises to draft programs for providing labor collectives with amenities consistent with modern requirements. With the support of the party committees, conferences with economic managers and the trade union aktiv were held in several oblast cities and rayons. Exhibits showing best experience were organized everywhere. The oblast trade union council also drafted and published in a large edition books of blueprints for rest areas and standard models for furnishing shops and establishing the simplest possible sports areas. Method aids were issued for the rural rayons showing how to set up amenities at older production premises. As a result of these and other steps the activities of trade union organizations in this area have developed in a practical direction: stipulations on improving amenities in production have been included in the pledges of a number of oblast collectives and in collective contracts. We are now setting the task of making more active use in this work of the control functions granted the trade unions by the Law on Labor Collectives.

The set of problems related to reducing the morbidity rate and related working time losses, is closely linked with concern for improving amenities at work. The specific target which was set to the members of the oblast trade union council and the sectorial trade union committees was the following: By eliminating negative factors, to achieve a drastic lowering of morbidity at enterprises considered to be the worst in this respect. Naturally, this

assignment was preceded by a thorough study of the reasons for working time losses due to illness. Our personnel headed especially set up groups of specialists, working in close contact with enterprise managements and the trade union activists, assuming personal responsibility for this project. Such responsibility is a major impetus. I believe that it was precisely this factor which played a rather important role in the fact that last year working time was increased by nearly 400,000 man/days.

The trade unions, which are the largest of all public organization, have a tremendous amount of work to do to implement the steps earmarked by the 27th CPSU Congress for the further democratization of our society. Unquestionably, the trade unions must focus their main attention on the labor collectives and on asserting within them the principles of social justice, openness and comradely interaction on all production management levels.

We recently analyzed the reasons which led the management of Construction Administration No 109, Dneprostalkonstruktsiya Trust, Solonyanskiy Rayon Selkhoztekhnika and other enterprises and organizations to commit major errors, as a result of which the trade union organizations withdrew their confidence in the managers. In this case, we applied Article 45 of the KZot UkSSR, analogues of which may be found in the labor legislations of all union republics. According to this article, by demand of the trade union body, the administration must cancel the labor contract with a leading worker or else replace him should he violate labor legislation, fail to fulfill his obligations based on the collective contract, display bureaucratism and allow red tape. What was the main fault in the work of the individuals who did not justify the trust placed in them? It became most clearly apparent that in each of these cases the administration had belittled the role of the collective and its legal rights, and that general meetings were pro forma only. I am confident that the systematic strengthening of democratic principles and public and production life will enable us entirely to eliminate situations in which misunderstanding develops between the labor collective and its managers. Above all, it will enable us to increase a hundredfold the creative upsurge of the people aimed at multiplying the national wealth and enhancing the power of the socialist homeland.

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## ENHANCING YOUNG PEOPLE'S MILITANCY

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[Article by V. Markov, Kemerovo Komsomol Obkom first secretary]

[Text] The Central Committee political report to the party congress gave a high rating to the contribution of young people to multiplying the gains of socialism and earmarked the most important guidelines for the future. The Komsomol is grateful to the party for this attention, fatherly strictness and goodness in the discussion of our vital affairs and concerns. Guided by the CPSU Central Committee decrees on further improving the party's leadership of the Komsomol and upgrading its role in the communist upbringing of young people, the Komsomol committees are trying to make a deeper study and solve more energetically problems of the work, training and way of life of adolescents and to enhance the combativeness and authority of primary Komsomol organizations. As far as our oblast is concerned, some of the most important tasks of Kuzbass youth is active participation in strengthening the material base of the area and accelerating its socioeconomic development.

The main objectives of the extensive work which lies ahead were listed at the congress. Our Siberian area has extremely rich opportunities. For a number of reasons, however, they are by no means used fully. During the past 5-year period, production shortfalls included 14.8 million tons of coal, and 489,000 tons of pig iron; the production of steel, rolled metals, cement and consumer goods fell short of the planned figures. New open pits and mines are being sluggishly built or reconstructed. Many difficulties exist in the sociocultural area. The ecological problems of the Kuzbass were sharply mentioned at the congress.

Understandably, many of these large-scale problems exceed the range of competence of Komsomol committees. Nevertheless, our contribution to the common cause could and should be substantially greater. For example, every year as many as 500 Komsomol-youth collectives find themselves among the laggards. Our urgent task is to eliminate this figure. The first steps have already been taken. For example, in the course of the implementation of the comprehensive program of sponsoring the coal mining industry, we have been able substantially to increase the number of Komsomol-youth mining collectives and, as a whole, lower the average age of miners to 31. As a rule, labor productivity in the well organized and united Komsomol-youth brigades is 7-10 percent higher than elsewhere.

Considering the important role which the Kuzbass plays in the fuel and energy complex of the country, the Komsomol Central Committee proclaimed a group of mines and open pits in the oblast all-union shock Komsomol construction projects. These days we are preparing to accept more than 2,000 people as members of the All-Union Shock Komsomol Detachment imeni 27th CPSU Congress. We hope that their contribution to the common cause will be substantial, for detachment subunits are now organized on the basis of substantially stricter rules than in the past, and of the strict selection of volunteers and their thorough professional training. Naturally, however, the main responsibility for the implementation of the plans for the starting year of the 5-year period is assumed by the native Siberians. Last year, 550 young men and women were given assignments to join the coal mining sector. An equally strong detachment of volunteers will be organized this year as well; only the very best will be chosen. Naturally, however, it is not merely a matter of quantitatively increasing the number of miners. The Komsomol obkom has earmarked a number of steps to energize youth scientific and technical creativity and increase the influence of young scientists and specialists on production affairs and technical reconstruction.

For example, in a single year young specialists and workers at the Prokopyevsk Mining Automation Plant, combined in 12 comprehensive brigades, submitted more than 50 suggestions which helped substantially to upgrade enterprise labor productivity and improve production quality. Taking into consideration that the oblast has some 100,000 young specialists with higher and secondary specialized training, one can easily imagine the reserves for accelerating scientific and technical progress available to us today.

The problems which the oblast Komsomol must resolve are important and stressed. What do we consider the main prerequisite for upgrading the labor and sociopolitical activeness of Komsomol organizations and all young people? Unquestionably, the persistent and consistent implementation of CPSU Central Committee decrees on the Komsomol and eliminating obsolete habits in the activities of Komsomol committees. The essence of forthcoming changes is to be entirely rid of formalism, which is totally inadmissible in youth circles, and make more daring use of research, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev mentioned at the congress. I am confident that only thus can one understand the real problems of youth and its requirements, and assert the Komsomol's authority.

What have we been able to accomplish in this main area? Let us frankly say that the reorganization of work means and methods of Komsomol committees have so far failed to affect most of them. It is true that the very word "reorganization" sounds good and is found in all documents. However, so far we have been unable to achieve truly noticeable changes for the better. What kind of reorganization could there be if even basic order does not prevail in the organizations? Thus, for example, in the course of preparations for one of the Komsomol Obkom plenums, we investigated and determined that 51 Komsomol raykom and gorkom members, 26 primary organization secretaries and 70 senior Pioneer leaders were not registered as members of a Komsomol organization. What does this mean?



It means that the roots of routine and irresponsibility are deep and must be eliminated as energetically as possible.

On the other hand, some practical steps show encouraging and entirely tangible results. For example, in two Kemerovo raykoms and the Leninsk-Kuznetsk Komsomol gorkoms we changed the working time of a number of departments and second secretaries. They now work from 1400 to 2200 hours daily, including Saturdays and Sundays. This has led to a sharp increase in the number of meetings with young people and improvements in mass and educational work in secondary schools, VUZs and hostels. We intend to apply a flexible type of work by Komsomol committees much more extensively, wherever required by specific circumstances.

Or else, let us consider Komsomol obkom personnel assignments. Until recently, we would usually receive a telephone call from a Komsomol raykom or gorkom first secretary or a party worker requesting a postponement or cancellation of a scheduled visit by one of our representative. Why? All too frequently we would show up unexpected, engage primarily in "exposing shortcomings" and, frankly speaking, wasting many working hours in unnecessary investigations. Such "tradition" has now been eliminated.

We now use the system of longer assignments of up to 10 days, of brigades consisting of the best trained obkom personnel, the only purpose of which is to help raykoms and gorkoms to understand topical problems better, organize the work of the apparatus and strengthen ties with primary organizations. The assessment of such changes has been unanimous: the boys are sincerely grateful for such support and invite us to visit them more frequently. The same rule should be established on the oblast level as well. Unfortunately, however, for the past 10 years Komsomol Central Committee secretaries have visited the Kuzbass only twice; for more than 3 years Komsomol Central Committee department heads have not visited the oblast. Yet the usefulness of such visits could be quite substantial. In our view, meetings between party workers and the Komsomol aktiv offer tremendous possibilities of improving the work style. As in the past, turnover in elected Komsomol aktivs remains high; in a number of areas we are unable to increase the party stratum within the apparatus of Komsomol gorkoms and raykoms.

The 27th CPSU Congress noted the need systematically to pursue a line of promoting worthy youth representatives to leading positions in all national economic areas. Over the past 3 years alone more than 400 Komsomol workers in the oblast have been transferred to work in soviet bodies and economic sectors. Practical experience indicates that most of these Komsomol members have the necessary political and practical qualities. They are willing and able to work better and more efficiently.

However, we have not eliminated blunders and errors in cadre selection and upbringing. The main harm is done by the recurrent "investigative" approach to promotion candidates, which ignores the essential features of the person's character, his specific actions and the opinion of those around him. The Komsomol obkom is currently taking steps to streamline work with the cadre reserve. Following the example of the party obkom, the discussion of a candidacy at buro sessions includes a consideration of objective and extensive



character references of those to be placed in responsible positions. Files on the Komsomol aktiv and VUZ graduates are being kept.

A number of problems currently exist in organizing the leisure time of young people. Let us consider as an example the first and, for the time being only "Spektr" youth center in the Kuzbass, which was organized in Novokuznetsk. Its initial steps are encouraging and the young people in the city have truly accepted it. Initially, a great deal of confusion existed concerning its status, financing and management. As a whole, the Komsomol obkom succeeded in organizationally uniting all "shareholders" of the center and took its experience as a basis for dissemination throughout the area. Understandably, this local success does not mean that all problems have been resolved. The same could be said of a project on a broader scale, the creation of youth housing cooperatives. Although very difficult, this is a promising matter. We cannot fail to see the tremendous desire of young people to participate in youth housing cooperatives. Quite frequently the main reason is not only the desire to have housing but also comradely contacts with coevals during free time. To the Komsomol this is a main guideline.

The strategic decisions of the 27th Leninist Party Congress and the deeply innovative meaning of its documents call upon young people to display highly stressed creative efforts and capabilities and engage in combative efforts and seek possibilities of accelerating the development of all realms of socioeconomic life. We shall be on the level of this tremendous task!

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## ACTIVE UNITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 86 (signed to press 16 Apr 86) pp 60-62

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor Irina Arkhipova, USSR People's Actress and Lenin Prize laureate]

[Text] During one of the first days of the congress I was invited by conservatory students and teachers. I went to them straight from the Kremlin Palace. It was late in the evening. Our discussion was interesting and lively. The young people asked endless questions. At one point, someone said: Our guest has had a difficult and intensive day, long hours of meetings at the congress, topped by her meeting with us. Let us give her time to rest, she must be tired. In a word, they empathized.

Yet it was precisely fatigue that I did not feel. I asked myself why? The reason was that the entire atmosphere of the congress was amazingly compatible with my nature. I had lived that day in a single breath, as the saying goes, the way I always try to live, unless prevented by petty concerns or accidental problems.

That day, like the other days of the congress, anything insignificant automatically assumed second priority. Activeness, honesty and frankness--the typical features of the congress--triggered particular good spirits, involving the discussion of important and difficult problems which became personal. Briefly, there was intensive work which brought true satisfaction.

Starting with the CPSU Central Committee political report, submitted by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, I reacted to all problems, whether dealing with basic trends of contemporary global developments or specific problems of accelerating the country's socioeconomic progress, as though they affected me personally and my profession as opera singer, musician and worker in culture. This, I believe, was not in the least, because actors and painters are impressionable people with a well developed associative way of thinking. It is a question of the fact that the global problems of our life, as analyzed by the congress, truly affect every one of us, be they accomplishments or negative phenomena.

Our theatres have no problem in attracting audiences. Their high recognition and world fame give us a feeling of entirely justified pride. However, if

there is always a sell-out, tolerance and complacency may develop. Great theatre is identified with Soviet art. In a certain sense, it is its symbol.

That is why during the congress it was as though two different feelings were residing and arguing within me: on the one hand, satisfaction with our accomplishments; on the other, annoyance and sadness caused by the fact that we are doing a lot less than we could.

The congress proved once again substantively and visibly the increased spiritual needs of the Soviet people as well as the way they are still, unfortunately, being poorly met. Both the speaker and the participants in the debates discussed warmly, convincingly and impassionately the unused reserves within the national economy; meanwhile, I was thinking that the possibilities of Soviet art have still not been truly brought to light and, naturally, above all in my own theatre. The existing tremendous aesthetic potential must be put on the service of the people.

Knowledgeable viewers and listeners warmly await us in hundreds of cities. Let us take Kurgan as an example. It was made famous by workers and scientists and by the magical surgeon G.A. Ilizarov, of worldwide fame. But it also includes people who truly appreciate music.

The congress taught us not to complain about unresolved problems but, above all, to seek their solution. In my view, this means broadening the possibilities of our creative contacts with the working people and making the art of a famous theatre more accessible to the masses. What does this require? Above all, the theater's branch must be reopened in the capital. The frequent answer to such a suggestion is the following: "But we do have the Kremlin Palace of Congress". What could be bigger?!" However, it is not size that matters. An opera stage demands strictly defined dimensions. Equally counterindicated for opera are a huge palace or the tightness of a small club stage. Today a stage is inconceivable without microphones and powerful amplifiers; such latest equipment simply kills an opera, making it lose its own specific quality.

By no means should opera groups be created in all cities, although each one of them, unquestionably, has people who truly appreciate our art. Nevertheless, at this point we already speak, in the language of the economists, of a noted overproduction of good singers whose talent is not properly used. I believe that it would be expedient to organize small mobile groups under operatic theatres, including ours. Preparing two or three performances, yes, precisely performances, rather than concerts, they could tour various cities and stay within each one of them as long as necessary, a month, 2, 6....

Generally speaking, the organization of performances requires major changes. A great deal of voluntarism and lack of control are found in this area. In a word, there is no order. The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree on further improving concert activities in the country, which was passed after the congress, will help us to resolve many vital problems of increasing the role of music in the aesthetic upbringing of the working people.

But let us go back a few weeks--to the 27th Party Congress. Let me make one more, a purely professional observation. I have frequently performed on the stage of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses and taken part in performances and concerts. I am very familiar with this hall. Audience reaction is a great incentive for an actor. It is, if you wish, his inspiration. The most accurate indicator of this reaction is less the applause than the silence in the hall during the performance. There is a variety of silences, which the musician can detect faultlessly. There is an indifferent silence, there is a "polite" silence and there is an oppressive silence. There is also a tense, a ringing silence of total spiritual, emotional and intellectual blending with the music. It is in such cases that we, actors, sense that active like-minded people are sitting in the hall. It was precisely this type of silence that prevailed at the Kremlin Palace, as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was presenting his report and, subsequently, when many of the delegates were speaking. Trust my musician's experience: this was an active, honest and interested unity.

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#### QUALITY IS AN AESTHETIC CATEGORY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 86 (signed to press 16 Apr 86) pp 62-64

[Article by S. Tkachev, chairman, Board of the RSFSR Union of Painters, people's painter of the USSR]

[Text] It was easier to describe the proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress to friends, acquaintances and colleagues while it was in session than it is now. The congress was exceptionally emotional. It triggered a mass of thoughts which one wished to share immediately, without delay. Now, only a few weeks later, everything that was experienced in the 10 days of the congress becomes consolidated: thoughts, emotions and assessments. Today I not only understand but sharply feel that I participated in a momentous event in the life of my homeland. There was a congress of industrialization and of collectivization; this congress was a congress of acceleration in all areas of our life.

At the meetings, as I listened to the speeches and addresses by the delegates, I translated in my own language as a painter many strictly economic and social categories. This may resemble schematism. However, man seems to be so structured as to refract anything that is significant and socially important he through the lens of his personal predilections and problems, from the viewpoint of his own profession. I find my own meaning in the amazingly vast concept of "acceleration." No, this does not involve developing a fast method for the creation of works of art. Acceleration in this case implies, above all, quality. It is precisely the high quality of exhibits and individual works that will enable Soviet graphic art to fulfill its social purpose much more efficiently.

Graphic art has expanded in recent years and decades. Painters live and work in various parts of the country. Today the USSR Painters' Union has 20,000 members and our Russian Republic Union, 11,000. This is a huge army of painters, sculptors and graphic artists. But let us consider the following statistics: the oblasts, krays and autonomous republics in the RSFSR (excluding Moscow and Leningrad) have 4,800 painters but only 550 of them have higher art training. Yet, the importance of true schooling in graphic art has long been known.

It is the school, in the lofty meaning of this term, that concerns me today most of all. The country has two academic painting schools--the Institute imeni I. Repin in Leningrad, and the Institute imeni V. Surikov, in Moscow. I

consider this insufficient. These two VUZs are the flagships of true realism in graphic art on earth. People come to us to study realism from dozens of countries throughout the world. We are proud of this and are performing our international duty by defending the great gain of world culture--realism. Our task, however, is to develop and enrich this gain. This requires highly skilled cadres and it is the largest multinational republic--the Russian Federation--that needs such cadres more than any other place. It is a question of opening a republic art VUZ. A great deal of what I heard at the party congress convinced me of the timeliness of formulating and solving this problem.

The main task which the congress set to cultural workers is to achieve an even closer link between painters and the people's life. Understanding the core of problems and contradictions in modern Soviet reality, increasing the influence of art on the development of society and on educating individuals worthy of our time and precisely needed at this turning point in time, is what concerns us today more than anything else.

Writers, composers and cinematographers were justifiably criticized at the congress. We, painters, also accept this criticism, although we have accomplished a great deal in recent years. For example, we have chronicled the BAM, starting with the first arrivals of construction workers; dozens of folk art galleries have appeared in the country, to which painters gifted their works; cooperation between my colleagues and labor collectives has strengthened. A great deal of our work is based on orders of enterprises and kolkhozes; such canvases are not put in storage but immediately begin to lead an active life as propagandists of the socialist way of life and as educators.

All of this is true. However, are there many works on the level of a truly artistic summation of our time? Have we created many works which could be described with no exaggeration as monuments of the age, such as V. Mukhina's "Worker and Kolkhoz Woman," which was the most talented artistic embodiment of the enthusiasm of the 1930s? I believe that it is precisely thus that the question should be formulated today as it applies to art. In addition to everything else, quality is an aesthetic category. The CPSU Central Committee political report accurately pointed out the need to be more exigent toward works nominated for high awards.

We have entered a period of radical change. This must affect culture as well. A restructuring of the artistic mechanism is as needed as is that of the economic mechanism. This may sound somewhat strange. However, it is not a matter of the way it sounds but of organizing our work and decisively bringing it closer to real problems and involving the broad public in the artistic process.

Let me explain this with a specific example. Exhibits are organized by exhibition committees, which select the works to be exhibited. Who are its members? Most frequently, painters only. Subsequently, it is we who judge our own works at various meetings and conferences. As the saying goes, we boil ourselves in our own juices. Is this right? Naturally, it is not. The cultural standards of the Soviet people have increased inordinately. Therefore, we must see to it that not professionals alone influence art policy



but also those for whom we work. This will become one more manifestation of socialist democracy, without which the successful development of our society and culture would be inconceivable and impossible.

More publicity is needed in art. I am concerned with the following: Why has the number of open competitions for monuments, with an extensive discussion of submitted works, been reduced? Is this one of the reasons for the appearance of poor and inexpressive works in the genre? Today one can only complain and wave one's hands and write angry letters to the newspapers. Let me repeat: public opinion must become more actively involved in the formulation and exercise of art policy. Publicity in our work is an expression of the demands of the people toward the artists and a method for increasing their responsibility and, consequently, for upgrading the artistic standard in monumental art, in our case.

Today the spirit of innovation and creative search, which distinguished the work of the 27th Party Congress, determines the atmosphere, the psychological climate in which we live. It calls for a new way of thinking and a new perception of our reality. The party and the Soviet people expect of the workers in culture artistic discoveries and the truth of life.

As I think about this, I frequently recall M.V. Nesterov, the outstanding Russian painter. His life and creative career were like a bridge from the past to the revolutionary art of the new age. Remember his famous portrait of Academician I.P. Pavlov. Nesterov, as an artist, and Pavlov, as a scientist, developed before the revolution. However, I am convinced that such a portrait could have been painted only after the Great October. The stunning power of this portrait is found in the fact that the painter recognized in the already elderly scientist the man of the new system, thus reaching a new level in painting, attaining a new quality.

A young painters' studio was at work at the Central Exhibition Hall, in the days of the congress. It was visited by delegates in breaks between sessions and during their free time. It was pleasant and touching to see the attention with which the young people were looking at the characters of their future works. A particular atmosphere prevailed here, both solemn and practical. I wish that the sketches and studies made during those unforgettable days become to our young replacements not a mere event in creative life but the beginning of a major work, greatly needed by the country and the people, work on difficult and splendid images of our contemporaries. Perhaps the true masters were born in this working contact between the young and heroes of our days.

The artist is the repository of the feelings of the age. He must not only be able to write, paint or perform on stage but also have a highly developed social feeling. He must be able to share it with others sincerely and vividly, and to create spiritual values of high social quality.

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RESPONSIBILITY, COURAGE, PATRIOTISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 86 (signed to press 16 Apr 86) pp 65-66

[Article by Senior Lieutenant N. Dronov, mortar battery commander]

[Text] As the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Congress noted, our Soviet army is a school of training in civic responsibility, courage and patriotism. To me, an officer in the Soviet Armed Forces, these words sounded like a clearly expressed statement of one of the most important aspects of the life of the armed forces which, as they defend the safety of our homeland, at the same time actively participating in the education of the young and in shaping and strengthening their civic stance and their spiritual and physical training.

The high moral and combat qualities of the personnel of the Soviet Armed Forces were hammered out in the battlefields of the Civil War and the flames of the Great Patriotic War. They are intensively polished today as well, at peace, under the new circumstances and, whenever required by the situation, they are manifested in their entire stern beauty and power.

I judge of this above all from the actions of my regiment, and the achievements of the entire personnel of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. Last school year the majority of units and subunits of the Group of Forces successfully fulfilled their plans for combat and political training and enhanced the level of their combat-readiness and quality of field training. Naturally, I am pleased that the mortar battery which I command and the subunits headed by my party-member comrades, are among the leaders.

Based on the results of the socialist competition, for the past 2 years the subunit commanded by Captain I. Gavrilov is the best in our unit. What is the reason for its success? Above all, the fact that party member Gavrilov and the other party members in the subunit display great responsibility in fulfilling their duty. All of them are professionally well-trained officers who set the example to soldiers and sergeants during tactical exercises and fire practice, in driving combat vehicles and meeting norms. The harsh life of the soldier becomes easier when commanded by such strict commanding officers, but who also show fatherly concern. This adds to the success of yesterday's secondary school students, young workers and kolkhoz members in

their military service. The novice soldier can always rely on the help of his experienced party-member commanders.

I experienced this myself, at the start of my career as an officer, after graduating from the Tbilisi Higher Artillery Command School. My life as an officer began with service in the limited contingent of Soviet forces in Afghanistan, where our army fraternity and combat skills are tested under difficult combat conditions. It was there that I saw with my own eyes that our Soviet soldier is a Man, a patriot and internationalist. Whatever duty he may be carrying, he always displays a statesman like responsibility. He never loses sight of the greatest possible civic purpose of the ordinary matters with which the soldier has to deal in his daily life.

It was my senior comrades, my first commanders--Major V. Rusyayev and Captain V. Radkevich--who were awarded the Red Star Order for combat exploits, who became the embodiment of army duty of the party-member soldier, in the mountains of Afghanistan. They taught me and other beginning officers how to conduct educational work with the help of junior commanders and the Komsomol aktiv. Several months later, it was these party members who recommended me for party membership.

The day I received my party card became the most memorable in my life, both because being in the ranks of my Communist Party was to me the fulfillment of an old dream and because I was presented with the party card after a fierce combat. It was in that battle that our comrade in arms party member Lieutenant Viktor Dluzhnevskiy died heroically in battle.

After the Afghan army subunit, supported by Soviet soldiers, had already thrown a gang from the village and was in pursuit, suddenly an enemy machine gun opened fire. Dluzhnevskiy was the closest to the machine gun. Not hesitating even for a second, in order to save the life of his comrades in arms, he hurled himself at the firing point, holding a hand grenade. The machine gun was silenced. However, Viktor was killed, after displaying the highest qualities of a true communist-internationalist.

Years of army service have convinced me that a man is born twice: when he appears in this world and when he becomes a soldier. I and my comrades-in-arms receive many letters from former members of the regiment. We consider this a manifestation of great gratitude for the school which hardens the character of youth and makes a person a worthy defender of his homeland. The entire daily army life, crowded with difficult military work, frequently enhanced by romanticism, ideologically tempers man, strengthening his political, military and technical knowledge, developing firmness of will and promoting the necessary moral-combat qualities.

Under contemporary conditions as we know, the significance of high moral qualities of army and navy personnel becomes immeasurably greater. This was concisely but meaningfully said in the new draft of the Communist Party program which was adopted at the congress. It stipulates that the CPSU will continue invariably to see to it that the combat potential of the Soviet Armed Forces become a firm alloy of military skill, high technical facilities,

ideological firmness, organization and discipline and loyalty of the personnel to patriotic and international duty.

That is why developing high moral qualities is one of the main areas of activity of army commanders and political workers. Even after service in the ranks of the Soviet Armed Forces, the stamp of time dedicated to it remains for a lifetime in the people who have experienced the hard but honorable army schooling.

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UNDER THE BANNER OF INTERNATIONALISM: GUESTS OF THE CONGRESS SPEAK

INSPIRING EXAMPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 86 (signed to press 16 Apr 86) pp 67-69

[Article by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Cuban CP Central Committee Politburo member, Council of State deputy chairman and Council of Ministers deputy chairman, Republic of Cuba]

[Text] Historically, in the last 9 decades, communist congresses, first in Russia and later in the Soviet Union, have frequently had exceptional influence not only on the fate of the international communist movement but also on the entire process of reorganization of human society.

Starting with 1903, the year the Bolshevik Party was founded and the 2nd RSDWP Congress was held, Lenin's ideas of a party of a new type started making their way in the Russian working class. It was precisely that party, relying on the masses and guided by Lenin's ideas, that ensured the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

As early as 1917 the bolsheviks formulated a program for reorganizing the country's life on the basis of the theories of scientific communism. After the Great October, Lenin's party became the center of historical accomplishments. Without the Soviet state imperialism would have been able cruelly to impose its will on the peoples.

The great distance covered by the CPSU is crowned by its 27th Congress which, as Comrade Fidel Castro said from the rostrum, can be described as historical without exaggeration. The congress' resolutions are the continuation of the political line earmarked at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, developing the suggestions formulated in the declaration of 15 January last of M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. M.S. Gorbachev's declaration, which met with the support and approval of all nations, will make it possible to curb the dangerous course charted by the Reagan administration, which could lead the world to nuclear catastrophe. Mankind must be grateful to the Soviet Union and its wise leadership for the possibility of safeguarding life on earth.

Another essential element of CPSU policy is the fact that the congress became a turning point in the history of socialism. Although a Leninist policy has always been an inseparable part of CPSU life, today we can speak with full

justification of a Leninist renewal, for the vitality and effectiveness of Lenin's ideas are being felt more strongly than ever.

We are witnessing profound changes in methods of economic management and forms and style of party and state guidance.

That which is taking place in the Soviet Union today is of importance to all mankind and all communists on earth, not only because of the historical role which the Soviet Union plays in international affairs but also because today's changes are good examples of critical exigency and objective analysis, inspiring us to tell the truth and only the truth, without reservations or embellishments. This is the example which the CPSU sets for the benefit of all parties.

We, Cuban communists, are proud of the fact that the report which Comrade Fidel Castro presented at our recently held third party congress and the resolutions which were passed contained a truthful analysis of the situation and impartial criticism of shortcomings.

The report by M.S. Gorbachev and many of the other speeches by the Soviet communists at the congress expressed an idea which, it seems to us, will be of tremendous importance to countries such as Cuba, to the extent to which the country faces problems similar to those of so-called Third World countries. The fact that in his speech Mikhail Sergeyevich drew attention to the intensifying contradiction between imperialism and the interests of underdeveloped countries proves the deep understanding on the part of the Soviet Union of the gravest problems which the young liberated countries are facing. Under contemporary conditions these problems are becoming increasingly important. They must be taken into consideration in defining the elements of the future comprehensive system of international security, which will make it possible to guarantee the peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. Needed today is a new international economic order and an equitable settling of the problem of foreign debts of developing countries, owed to the imperialist states, debts which cannot be repayed. This conclusion was reached by Comrade Fidel Castro on the basis of a profound scientific analysis.

The vital problems of the developing countries were described in their entire magnitude in the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress. The Soviet Union has the necessary political and military power to curb the aggressive efforts of imperialism. The moral and economic assistance given by the USSR to countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America strengthens the resolve of the peoples to continue their struggle against the fatal course pursued by the Reagan administration which, with the help of the International Monetary Fund and private American banks, is dooming our peoples to poverty and backwardness. The struggle against imperialist intrigues is assuming a new scope thanks to the solidarity of the Soviet people, a solidarity which we have always felt. Today, however, this problem is extensively considered in the documents of the CPSU congress as one of the most important in our time.

The resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, based on the brilliant and accurate political report of the party's Central Committee, presented by M.S.



Gorbachev, assume a special import. The new phenomena, which have appeared with unparalleled force, will have a powerful impact on the development of mankind. The acceleration of the economic progress of the Soviet people on the basis of scientific and technical accomplishments is of inestimable value to the entire socialist community and to countries which are defending their national dignity and economic independence in the course of a sharp confrontation with imperialism.

The spirit of reorganization of party life, the enhanced exigency toward the party members and the observance of party standards in the management of socialist society will be of useful practical value to all of us as well. We have not tried to duplicate the process initiated by our Soviet friends. Each country has its own specific features, geographic peculiarities, historical traditions and cultural values. We are confident that the achievements of the Soviet Union for the period until the advent of the third millennium will become the foundation of further cooperation in the interests of the economic development of our countries and will enable us to earmark ways, solutions and programs of exceptional value to our specific experience.

That is the precise reason for which not only we, who consider communism the bright hope of the future, but also hundreds of millions of people in all parts of the earth are welcoming the 27th CPSU Congress as an event of the greatest historical significance.

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# SCHOOL OF REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT AND ACTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 86 (signed to press 16 Apr 86) pp 69-72

[Article by Hoang Tung, Vietnam CP Central Committee secretary]

[Text] Many of us have seen motion pictures and read works of fiction describing meetings at party organizations and enterprises after the October Revolution, during V.I. Lenin's life. Such meetings were tempestuous and heated, conducted in a spirit of combativeness and practicality. The work of the 27th CPSU Congress made a strong and deep impression, consistent with a powerful country marching toward the advance of socialism and further progress toward communism. The congress adopted truly historical documents. The dream of a future society, which was given a scientific foundation in Marx's and Engels' "Communist Party Manifesto," was embodied in the country of Lenin, the leader of the first victorious proletarian revolution which inaugurated a new era in the history of mankind.

This brilliant prediction was successfully implemented thanks to the heroic struggle and constructive efforts of the peoples of the land of the soviets. The development of the theoretical and practical problems of building socialism reached new heights.

The Soviet Union, which is combining a structural reorganization of its economy and management mechanism and perfecting its social policy with the development of the scientific and technical revolution, is implementing reforms of profound revolutionary significance. They are a powerful booster which creates reliable conditions for the successful implementation of the great socioeconomic program for the next 15 years. Science, technology and ideological and cultural work will be developed further, and the country's economic potential will double within that time. In other words, in terms of volume it will create as much as during the almost 70 years of life of the new system, although on a higher quality level. It would be difficult to overestimate the significance of all the changes which will take place in the world after the targets set by the 27th CPSU Congress will have been met. The steady strengthening of the comprehensive power of the Soviet Union and the vital forces of a society in which the development of one is a prerequisite for the development of all and in which man is a friend to man, the full implementation of a policy of social justice, and the development of spiritual and moral qualities, way of life and a new style of creative labor will

contribute tremendously to strengthening peace and the struggle waged by the working people of all countries for their liberation.

Our doctrine is more convincing and attractive than ever!

I also was deeply impressed by the great political work done in the Soviet Union by the party organizations in the course of the accountability and election campaign and by the labor collectives in recent months. Lenin's words on the holiday of the masses were recalled at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses. It is here that the mind of the entire party and people and the triumph of socialist democracy found their concentrated manifestation.

This was a second holiday, a forum of reason, indicating a sharp turn in the country's development.

The atmosphere of the congress was truly remarkable: cohesion, unity, confidence and enthusiasm! The delegates were voicing the thoughts of the working people and managers of various ranks, from production collectives to local, republic and union organizations. They were expressing their total approval of the CPSU Central Committee political report and their unity with the Central Committee and the Politburo, headed by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev.

The start of the turn in the country's development was laid at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the 27th Congress became a historical landmark along that way. A great deal was accomplished in making profound changes in the huge economic mechanism and in a society of nearly 300 million people in no more than 9 months, which were imbued with a spirit of dynamism and innovation. This convincingly proves that the existing problems had become ready to be solved by the entire party and people. A great deal was accomplished in the field of foreign policy in the unification of all peace-loving forces, thanks to the responsible actions of Soviet party and state leaders and, particularly, the familiar plan for the elimination of nuclear weapons from our planet by the beginning of the 21st century.

Together with the delegates, the numerous foreign guests, who included heads of socialist countries and communist parties of the world, unanimously appreciated the historical significance of the 27th CPSU Congress for the cause of peace and the revolutionary movement, and expressed their support of the domestic and foreign policy of the Soviet Union. To many among them the congress was a direct, meaningful and useful school of communism. Proletarian internationalism was vividly manifested at the congress, expressing its tremendous power.

Another distinguishing feature of the congress was the high degree of responsibility shown by the delegates, who noted frankly, openly and self-critically, in a Leninist style, what had not been done or had been done improperly, and who criticized superior organizations. The development of democracy at the congress and in the rest of the country confirms the powerful vital forces of a society in which a high moral and political unity prevails, where party and people are as one, and where everyone is aware of his personal responsibility for the common cause.

The ideals of peace and communism were the motive force of the congress' activities. Its delegates pledged to dedicate their entire spiritual energy to the struggle for the further progress of the land of the soviets toward communism, for the elimination of mass destruction weapons and for ensuring a peaceful life on earth. It is here that the age-old dreams of mankind now acquires a real foundation for their implementation. Problems of building a communist society are being solved.

In following the preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress and studying its work and documents, we, Vietnamese communists, look at all this in terms of the problems of building socialism in our own country, problems on which we are working intensively. From the day it was founded in 1930, our party clearly determined that the purpose of revolutionary work in our country is socialism and communism. Marxism-Leninism is the ideological foundation and prime reason for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution. We successfully implemented the program for a national people's democratic revolution, won the homeland's independence and freedom and led the entire country on the road to socialism. The CPV formulated a program for socialist revolution at its 4th congress in 1976. Our revolution is confidently following the right path despite major difficulties: a number of mistakes were made during its initial stage. The party indicated the importance of guaranteeing the rights of the working people for the implementation of collectivistic principles in all areas of life, considering this to be both the target and the motive force of the revolution. Today we are paying attention at the simultaneous strengthening of the three facets of the socialist revolution in our country: production relations, science and technology, and ideology and culture, and are readying conditions for stable development and progress toward completing the transitional period.

We profoundly understand the approach of the CPSU, which indicates that one must always see the specific development stages and specific directions of the revolution, and that the solution of problems within socialism lies within socialism itself. The problems which the Soviet comrades face have still not assumed direct practical relevance to our country. However, a number of basic problems and common laws apply to us as well. They include the need for gradual development, contradictions between social processes, including between production forces and production relations (radically different from those existing under capitalism), gradual progress in accordance with objective laws, and pursuit of an accurate socioeconomic policy which embodies the advantages of socialism and is a powerful factor in the advancement of the new society. They also include the question of social efficiency, the new person, the way of life and morality as motive forces unavailable to the old society, and many others. After eliminating the exploitation of man by man and establishing public ownership of the means of production, and having profoundly studied the rich experience of world socialism, we can rapidly identify the advantages of the new socioeconomic system without paying for our errors or else paying less for them, avoiding circuitous ways and advancing confidently. International experience is always a valuable lesson.

Relying on the system of public ownership and collective economic management, we are restructuring our economy from small- to large-scale output, creating a

new management mechanism, reorganizing socialist distribution and trade, and formulating the objectives of the new 5-year plan and long-term socioeconomic policy.

The significant changes taking place in the Soviet Union are of great help to us in assessing our own actions. Thus, in accordance with the new achievements of the Soviet Union, we deem necessary to improve our party training system and philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism textbooks. Our cadres must study and become well familiar with the contribution which the new documents of the 27th CPSU Congress are making to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

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# EVENT OF GLOBAL MAGNITUDE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 86 (signed to press 16 Apr 86) pp 72-73

[Article by Henry Winston, U.S. Communist Party national chairman]

[Text] Unquestionably, the 27th CPSU Congress is an event of exceptional importance. Although the concept "historical" is sometimes given an excessively broad meaning, it is my deep conviction that the significance of this high forum of Soviet communists, which recently completed its work, could and should be described as historical in the full meaning of the term, at the present turning point in global developments.

The Central Committee political report to the 27th CPSU Congress provides a clear answer to the most crucial world problems, that of war and peace, above all, which are facing mankind with utmost urgency. Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's report proved with new emphasis the leading role which the Soviet Union has always played and plays today in the struggle for lasting peace and against the growing danger of war. This danger, which is threatening the nations, is brought by imperialism, by virtue of its exploitative, expansionistic and aggressive nature. Now, when the threat of the destruction of human civilization in the flames of nuclear war has risen in its entire magnitude, M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, addressed the congress not only as the representative of the communists and working people in the Soviet Union and the members of the socialist community, but also as the representative of the tremendous majority of the population on earth, voicing their feelings, thoughts and expectations. The historical optimism which literally imbues Comrade Gorbachev's report provides reliable and realistic guidelines for the growing potential of the forces of peace and in their struggle against the arms race unleashed by aggressive imperialist circles, headed by the Washington administration. The source of mortal threat of war has been defined clearly and simply: the right wing of the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie and the other imperialist countries, and the military-industrial complex it hammered out.

Let me say a few words on the subject of those who love to discourse about human rights and proclaim their pharisaic love of man. The 27th CPSU Congress clearly proved its high humanism and true concern for the fate of man and his main right: the right to life. In the light of the peace initiatives formulated by Moscow, the antihumane nature of Washington's policy and its



plans for total preparations for war are realized even more clearly by millions of people in the capitalist world. Those who oppose the realistic and comprehensive suggestions of the USSR, aimed at saving civilization, have no right to speak of human rights. The Soviet proposals of imposing a total ban on nuclear tests, an immediate reduction of Soviet and U.S. nuclear missile arsenals by 50 percent and preventing the shifting of the arms race to space serve the interests of all peoples on earth. Why is the White House opposed to these initiatives? Because it is far removed from considerations of humaneness and the concerns of mankind. What matters to it the most are the profits of the magnates of the Lockheed, Boeing, General Dynamics and other war-industry corporations, all those who are extracting billions from a policy leading to the destruction of life on earth.

The congress of Soviet communists impressively proved the unbreakable tie between Soviet domestic and foreign policy. The good of the people is the core of both: accelerated economic progress for the sake of the well-being of the members of the socialist community and elimination of the deadly arsenals of weapons throughout the world for the sake of the bright future of all mankind.

Equally closely interlinked are the foreign and domestic policies of American imperialism, whose nature, however, is different, being openly confrontational. Outside the country its purpose is world domination with the help of further stockpiling and perfecting of nuclear weapons and "star-wars" preparations. Domestically, it is aimed at intensifying the exploitation of working people and voiding the social programs and the gains of the working class and all toiling masses. Naturally, the crumbs from the neocolonial plundering of other nations, dropped by the multinational U.S.-based corporations for purposes of social maneuvering and bribing some groups of American working people, cannot stop the protest against the antipeople's course charted by the White House, which is spreading throughout the country, or prevent the widening of the gap separating the monopolies from the majority of the people, which is increasing with every passing day.

The Soviet communist congress has already entered modern history as a forum which formulated a comprehensive plan for the creation of a lasting and stable peace without weapons, a world without war, by the end of the 20th century. This is the reason for the extensive response to it on the part of the people's masses throughout the earth.

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## LESSON IN GREAT HISTORICAL TRUTH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 86 (signed to press 16 Apr 86) pp 73-75

[Article by Gilberto Vieira, Colombian CP Central Committee secretary general]

[Text] The lively interest which the proceedings of the 27th CPSU Congress generated in all continents was perfectly natural and legitimate. It would be difficult even to compare with anything else the role which the Soviet Union plays in the contemporary world. It is the first country of victorious socialism, where the 1917 October Revolution inaugurated a new era in the history of mankind and where, headed by the Leninist party, the people undertook the creation of a qualitatively different social system, based on the principles of true freedom, democracy and social justice. That is why for nearly 7 decades the processes developing in the USSR have drawn such close attention throughout the world, not only among like-minded communists and fighters for social and national liberation but also among circles greatly hostile to the cause of socialism. Anything happening on Soviet soil affects, one way or another, the vital interests of dozens and hundreds of millions of people everywhere on earth and, therefore, is considered an event of prime significance. History is truly being made here. Naturally, this applies above all to CPSU congresses.

I am confident that no one doubts the special significance of this congress. This is the reason for the unabated attention with which the world public, people of most different political and ideological persuasions, followed each announcement related to the work of the congress and studied its materials.

The CPSU Central Committee political report, which Comrade Gorbachev submitted at the congress, can be described as a document of exceptional significance without the slightest exaggeration. The prime distinguishing feature of this document is the profound dialectical analysis it offers of the situation in the contemporary world, including the contradictions (with the latest ones) within the capitalist system and the problems encountered by socialism in its progress.

On the other hand, Comrade Gorbachev's report clearly reveals the nature of the position taken by U.S. President Reagan concerning the plan for the gradual elimination of nuclear armaments, which had been formulated earlier by the CPSU Central Committee secretary. The "linkage" and "conditions"

formulated by the administration in Washington totally expose the efforts of U.S. imperialism to avoid any serious talk of nuclear disarmament and to mislead world public opinion.

The analysis of socialist reality in the Soviet Union, and the description of its historical accomplishments, on the one hand, and the exposure of existing shortcomings, on the other, is one of the most important features of the report submitted by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary. The report was presented in the form of sharp and profoundly principled criticism and self-criticism. This is possible only in a party such as the CPSU, profoundly wisened and mature, a party which is not afraid of openly informing the people and the entire world of existing negative phenomena. The Leninist party congress became a true lesson in great historical truth and enhanced even further the reputation of the Soviet Union in the eyes of the world public.

The CPSU Central Committee political report earmarks a reliable way of surmounting shortcomings and omissions within the shortest possible time and formulates the primary tasks of the party and the entire Soviet people in the economic and all other areas of the country's social life. Unquestionably, their implementation will instill the necessary dynamism in the development of the Soviet economy, and broad scope for mass initiative and creativity and for truly revolutionary change. It will open to the land of the soviets even more captivating opportunities. The stipulation contained in the report emphasizing that the accelerated development of society is impossible without the further comprehensive advancement of socialist democracy is of exceptional significance.

The documents of the 27th CPSU Congress are not the property of the Soviet people alone but a tremendous contribution to the common treasury of Marxist-Leninist ideas and a powerful support in the struggle waged by the progressive revolutionary forces the world over. That is why, unquestionably, these exceptionally important political documents will be studied with tremendous attention not only by communists in all countries but also by the entire international public.

Equally great is the importance of the recent peace initiatives formulated by the Soviet Union. The proposals submitted by Comrade Gorbachev at the beginning of the year, calling for the gradual elimination of nuclear armaments, were welcomed by the countries in our continent as a highly realistic plan. This plan is of tremendous importance to the peoples of Latin America and the rest of the world. The Latin American people are aware of the fact that the arms race is strangling the contemporary world. They also realize that the implementation of the plan submitted by Comrade Gorbachev for the elimination of the most expensive mass destruction weapons would provide their countries with the opportunity to undertake the solution of some grave problems caused by economic backwardness and imperialist domination.

The struggle waged by the CPSU against sliding toward nuclear war and in defense of peace is the most important and grandiose battle of our time. It is consistent not only with the profound expectations of the Soviet people but also with the vital interests of all peoples on earth, including the American. There is no nation which does not want peace or does not aspire to curbing the

senseless arms race which is threatening the very existence of mankind. That is why the peace initiatives formulated by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the policy of the CPSU are consistent with the most profound aspirations and hopes of the people on earth.

As far as the Communist Party of Colombia is concerned, its struggle today is focused on problems related to its participation in the process of the country's democratization. A vast field of activities is opening to Colombian democratic forces. Their unification and mobilization make possible achieving profound changes in the country and surmounting restrictions of democracy, related to the preservation of the parity system, according to which for a number of years two bourgeois parties--the liberal and the conservative--have remained in power. It is only by eliminating this system that a change within governmental institutions which hinder the free expression of the will of the Colombian people, would be ensured.

The struggle for democracy is encountering the fierce opposition of the most reactionary strata of the oligarchy and the military, closely linked with U.S. imperialism. They are resorting to terrorism and violence on the state level, directed against the progressive and patriotic forces in the country. Of late many leaders of revolutionary and democratic movements have fallen victim of reactionary terrorism. Bombs and explosives have been repeatedly detonated in buildings housing communist party organizations.

Naturally, the policy of frightening popular and democratic forces will not bring expected results. However, it is fraught with the danger of aggravating the political situation in the country. Today Colombia can take one of two possible paths: Either to continue and intensify the process of democratization, which offers opportunities for political and economic progress, or enter a new period of armed clashes which have been tearing the country apart for decades.

The communists are striving toward and promoting the intensification of democracy, seeking the support of the broadest possible strata of the Colombian people. We consider participation in the elections, alongside the Patriotic Alliance, one of our main tasks. This new movement is gathering significant strength. Our cooperation could become the base for the formation of a broad front, which the people of Colombia need in order to end oligarchic exploitation and the oppression of American imperialism.

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## GREAT INITIATIVE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 86 (signed to press 16 Apr 86) pp 76-78

[Article by George Jackson, New Zealand Socialist Unity Party secretary general]

[Text] The practical and innovative spirit of the 27th CPSU Congress and the fact that it was to become a turning point were predetermined almost 1 year ago by the April 1985 CPSU Plenum and subsequent actions and events of tremendous significance to the Soviet people and the entire international community.

As we know, a number of basic problems were raised at the congress, the solution of which was aimed at strengthening the role of the working class in the country's life and activities and that of the broad toiling masses in production and social management, perfecting the economic management system, ensuring the fuller utilization of the results of scientific and technical progress for the good of the entire society and the individual working person, and strengthening universal peace by halting the arms race and subsequently converting to universal disarmament. The very formulation of these radical problems and suggested means of solving them met with the full approval and understanding of the Soviet people. Adding to this the broad discussion of the draft new edition of the CPSU program, amendments in the party statutes and the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000, not only by the members of your party but also by the entire nation, unparalleled in terms of scope, daring and scale, and the peace initiatives formulated by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, 15 January last, the exceptional atmosphere in which the congress of Soviet communists began its proceedings becomes even clearer.

We witnessed the fact that your party forum took place in a combative atmosphere of enthusiasm and sincere interest shown by all delegates in solving the great problems of the political, economic, social and other areas of life of the Soviet people. After the first day of the congress, during which the CPSU Central Committee political report was presented by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, a foreign guest or a journalist aptly noted that that day could be described as "initiative" day. In this connection, I remembered that V.I. Lenin used to describe the first

subbotnik as "the great initiative." It would be no exaggeration to apply this Leninist formula to all the great initiatives formulated at the congress, marking the entry of the land of the soviets into a new dynamic stage in building the most just society on earth, in accordance with the CPSU program.

The draft new edition of the CPSU program, which was adopted at the congress, contains a profoundly scientific analysis of the current world situation, covers a huge number of problems and embodies the deep aspirations and expectations of all nations. I fully agree with M.S. Gorbachev's words about this historical document. He emphasized "its profoundly humanistic nature, concern for man and passionate appeal for understanding among nations and ensuring the peaceful future of mankind."

Mankind has no other possible future, for otherwise it would not survive. The program clearly indicates the path to such a future--peaceful coexistence, for which there is no alternative. However this is also the high road of development and strengthening the power of socialism and the forces of social progress, and the steady progress of mankind toward socialism.

There was a time when communist society seemed a utopia, an unreachable dream. Today it is an entirely real objective in the USSR, implemented in the course of the constructive efforts of the entire people, headed by its vanguard, the Leninist party.

Naturally, a communist future cannot be reached in accordance with a predetermined time schedule, for it is attained by following a virgin path. Much of what lies ahead is unknown. However, we can say as of now that anyone who has chosen this path is becoming richer, and we do mean anyone and not some privileged groups. Such wealth has nothing in common with "cash," which is the ideal of the capitalist society. With each new step toward communism, this concept becomes increasingly important in upgrading the material well-being of the entire people and their spiritual enrichment.

The great plans and programmatic objectives of the CPSU and the Soviet people presume their implementation under conditions of peace. The struggle for peace has always been the distinguishing feature of Soviet foreign policy. Under contemporary conditions, however, it becomes particularly important. All of this is consistent with the 15 January 1986 declaration by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. This document is imbued not only with concern for the well-being of his people but also for that of all mankind. That is precisely why it met with such response and understanding throughout the world. For the first time a comprehensive program for the practical achievement of universal disarmament--the ancient dream of all peoples on earth--was formulated. This program is backed by specific relevant steps, such as the extension of the USSR moratorium on all nuclear tests, decided despite the fact that the United States pursued its nuclear testing. The entire world was able to see clearly, yet once again, who it was that indeed aspired to peace and who only talked about it.

If accepted by the nuclear powers, the moratorium could drastically lower the intensity of the arms race, curb it and provide conditions for specific talks and for the practical formulation of principles governing the banning and



total elimination of nuclear weapon stockpiles with guaranteed mutual security. The nations approved of the Soviet moratorium. What is most necessary now is the willingness of the other side to follow the Soviet example. Should the other side display such willingness we could confidently expect that the third millennium will be illuminated by the victory of reason and the triumph of life. Unfortunately, the position of the United States remains negative.

Nevertheless, the idea of a world free from nuclear weapons is making its way through all obstacles and barriers erected by its opponents and is finding massive support in different circles in all countries, including New Zealand.

Our country is poetically described as the "country of a long white cloud." It must remain such rather than vanish in the black nuclear clouds. The New Zealanders expressed their opinion on this subject quite simply. More than 76 percent of them said that they would like to see their country free from nuclear weapons. This demand was formulated by a large number of big and small towns and settlements, different political parties, trade unions, public organizations, churches, the working class and the broad popular masses.

A bill is being drafted proclaiming New Zealand a nuclear-free country; its ports will be closed to any navy vessel armed with nuclear weapons.

Our people's awareness of the danger of the proximity of nuclear weapons gradually leads them to realize the true role of ANZUS, the military agreement between Australia and New Zealand and the United States. An increasing number of people are favoring the country's withdrawal from ANZUS.

Villages, cities, districts and even entire areas in a number of countries have been proclaimed nuclear-free zones. With the passing of this law New Zealand will become a nuclear-free country. This too may be described as "initiative," for it is worthy of such a description.

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PARTY OF LENIN, PARTY OF PEACE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 86 (signed to press 16 Apr 86) pp 78-79

[Article by Rene Urbani, Luxembourg CP chairman]

[Text] The feeling that I was witnessing and participating in a very important historical event did not leave me for the entire 9 days during which I attended the sessions of the 27th CPSU Congress as a guest. Today, when the passing of time allows an even deeper appreciation of the spirit of renovation which prevailed at the congress, its decisions, imbued by a Leninist approach, and the valuable bolshevik traditions, I can confidently say that this lofty forum of the Soviet communists inaugurated an important period in the upsurge of socialism, while the contemporary world was given a powerful impetus which will help it to start a new round in its ascending development.

Essentially, this was an impetus provided by the Great October and the genius of the great Lenin, multiplied by the power of the new social system and its global impact on all historical processes, east, west or south.

A new age of accelerated social progress of mankind and a narrowing of the sphere of imperialist domination and curbing of the forces of war and destruction opened with the October Revolution. The defeat of fascism in World War II, the decisive contribution to which was made by the heroic Soviet people, opened the way to mankind's ascent to a new stage of social progress. The appearance of the world socialist system and of tens of young countries on the ruins of colonial empires became the harbinger and guarantee of new future victories of mankind in the struggle for a peaceful and happy future. This put an end, not once and for all, however, to the insane dreams of the most reactionary imperialist groups to turn the course of history back with the help of fascism, to crush "communist sedition" and establish their unchallenged world domination.

By the middle of the 1980s the world reached a higher stage in its development. In addition to new technological and social opportunities for a greater advance toward a more stable and secure future, mankind acquired also the type of "absolute weapon" which could destroy all life on earth in a few seconds. Such is the real dialectics of social progress, far removed from its bookish easier models. For the first time in history mankind faced the entirely realistic question: to be or not to be? This question was raised in

its entire terrible conciseness by imperialism, which, as in the past, refuses to abandon its efforts at social revenge, using to this effect the arms race involving nuclear and other mass destruction weapons.

Such is the historical challenge of our time, which had to be answered by socialism and the Leninist party congress. And the answer was given. The congress formulated a brilliant strategy for peace and the salvation of mankind from self-destruction on the basis of a profound theoretical analysis of basic trends and contradictions in the contemporary world. Unquestionably, this masterly analysis will become part of the creative treasury of Marxism-Leninism. I am confident that the congress' documents, the political report submitted by M.S. Gorbachev and the new draft of the CPSU program will become a manual for the communists and all working people, not only in the Soviet Union.

It would be unnecessary to repeat in these brief remarks the familiar stipulations of the comprehensive peace plan formulated by the Soviet communists. Let me say only that it provided clear guidelines for all peace-loving forces in their struggle for the prevention of thermonuclear catastrophe and made the peoples on earth confident that peace can be defended and strengthened. Mankind's progress will be secured; the new higher round in its social progress will be successfully continued. Such is the historical vocation of socialism and of all democratic and antiwar forces on earth.

Most of all, I see in it the crucial significance of the 27th CPSU Congress and its nature as a landmark of our age.

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#### SOURCE OF INSPIRATION IN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 86 (signed to press 16 Apr 86) pp 79-81

[Article by Alfred Nzo, South Africa African National Congress secretary general]

[Text] The 27th CPSU Congress is an event of tremendous political significance not only for the Soviet people but for all peoples on earth. Its proceedings and documents triggered lively interest in the communist and worker parties and national liberation movements. Unquestionably, one of the most important documents adopted by the congress is the new edition of the CPSU program.

In my view, it is necessary to emphasize above all that in it, as in its previous edition, the task of ensuring the further growth of the well-being of the Soviet people remains pivotal. This is the permanent trend of the entire social policy of the Soviet Union.

All of this is in sharp contrast with the situation of the working people in the capitalist world, particularly in countries such as South Africa, where the majority of the population is forced to work almost like slaves for the sake of enriching the racist minority and the multinational corporations of the leading imperialist states. Our oppressed people no longer intend to tolerate the existing situation and to continue to break their backs to enrich their enslavers, as the stormy events in our country are convincingly proving.

The democratic and liberation forces in my homeland, who are fighting for the overthrow of the racist regime, are currently encountering the increasing cruelty of the racists. Never before, in the entire history of the country has state terrorism ever been practiced on such a scale. Let us emphasize that this state terrorism is being comprehensively supported by Pretoria's main allies, the Western imperialists, the United States above all, who have always done their utmost to strengthen the apartheid state.

The CPSU program calls for the further broadening of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. This is of tremendous importance in strengthening the entire socialist community, which is the bulwark of peace on earth. The program also calls for the further development and intensification of relations with all developing countries and fighters

for national liberation. We can confidently claim that the CPSU program, which was adopted at the 27th Congress, will have an exceptionally beneficial influence on the entire course of social progress on our planet.

As we know, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement was made public even before the congress, on 15 January, reemphasizing the Soviet Union's support of the cause of peace and security of the peoples and calling for the gradual reduction of nuclear arsenals and other mass destruction weapons, leading to their total elimination by the end of this century.

This impressive disarmament program met with the unanimous approval of all peace-loving and democratic forces on earth. It opens new horizons for mankind's progress under conditions of lasting peace. Its implementation would allow the peoples in the developing countries successfully to solve problems of national construction and to strengthen their economic and political independence. The program opens new opportunities also for the peoples fighting colonial and imperialist oppression and for freedom and independence in various parts of the world, including South Africa, my homeland.

All of this is strikingly different from the aggressive policy of international imperialism. We know that the United States, the main imperialist country, is against the constructive Soviet proposals. This applies first of all to proclaiming a moratorium on all nuclear tests. The Reagan administration is unwilling to follow the positive example of the Soviet Union. Instead, Washington is pursuing a program of further increase of armaments and escalation of the nuclear rearmament race.

The entire significance of the efforts of the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community who, despite the obstacles erected by the aggressive imperialist circles, are trying to protect mankind from the threat of nuclear catastrophe, are particularly clear against the background of the imperialist policy of arms race and threat to peace.

Currently the struggle waged by all democratic and progressive forces for the abolition of the shameful system of apartheid is spreading in South Africa. The struggle is being waged under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) and its allies.

Last June the ANC held its second national consultative conference, which confirmed the role of the congress as the leading force of the people in its struggle for the implementation of the ideals of the national democratic revolution in our country. The conference set the task of promoting the further organizational unification of our ranks and the entire liberation movement. Unquestionably, this forum will become a most important stage in strengthening the leading role of the ANC in the struggle waged by our people for national and social liberation.

As has always been the case, at its 27th Congress the party of Soviet communists reasserted its immutable solidarity with our struggle and with all fighters for national and social liberation. This will be a new powerful inspiring incentive for the democratic forces and for all fighters for the

freedom of our people, who are trying to put an end to apartheid and build a truly democratic and multiracial society. We believe that a democratic South Africa will assume its proper place in the international community and become a consistent fighter for peace and social progress.

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## COURSE OF INNOVATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 86 (signed to press 16 Apr 86) pp 81-82

[Article by Hugo Peccioli, member of the Italian Communist Party Management and Secretariat]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th CPSU Congress, submitted by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, is a document of great positive innovation. This assessment was included in my speech to the congress, when I presented the sincere greetings of the ICP to the 27th CPSU Congress. I also issued a similar statement for the Italian press.

With great frankness and political courage Comrade Gorbachev exposed the reasons for the major shortcomings and stagnation in the development of the economy, social life and consciousness and some cases of distortion. He spoke in the language of truth and, on the basis of a sharp critical analysis, formulated tasks for a profound reconstruction and truly radical reforms in planning, management, the national economic structure and social progress.

The fact that Comrade Gorbachev called for increasing the democratic participation of the working people and the energizing of social self-management as one of the conditions for success in the struggle for the implementation of contemplated changes, and named the specific ways for their development, is of particular interest.

I could see that this comprehensive approach to the solution of crucial problems met with extensive support. Unquestionably, the importance of systematic renovation, which ensures the full utilization of all resources within Soviet society, the drastic acceleration of socioeconomic development and the comprehensive and energetic participation of the masses in the country's life are deeply realized by the working people in the Soviet Union. This is the primary and basic prerequisite for progress by the Soviet peoples along their chosen path.

Obviously, although during the pregress period some important results were achieved, the 27th Congress does not mark the completion of the reorganization process which was started with the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum. Comrade M.S. Gorbachev himself emphasized that needed now is the mobilization of all intellectual and material resources, will power and intensive work,

above all by the communists, in order to ensure the accelerated claim that the CPSU program, which was adopted at the 27th Congress, will have an exceptionally beneficial influence on the entire course of social progress on our planet.

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This impressive disarmament program met with the unanimous approval of all peace-loving and democratic forces on earth. It opens new horizons for mankind's progress under conditions of lasting peace. Its implementation would allow the peoples in the developing countries successfully to solve problems of national construction and to strengthen their economic and political independence. The program opens new opportunities also for the peoples fighting colonial and imperialist oppression and for freedom and independence in various parts of the world, including South Africa, my homeland.

All of this is strikingly different from the aggressive policy of international imperialism. We know that the United States, the main imperialist country, is against the constructive Soviet proposals. This applies first of all to proclaiming a moratorium on all nuclear tests. The Reagan administration is unwilling to follow the positive example of the Soviet Union. Instead, Washington is pursuing a program of further increase of armaments and escalation of the nuclear rearmament race.

The entire significance of the efforts of the Soviet Union and other members of the socialist community who, despite the obstacles erected by the aggressive imperialist circles, are trying to protect mankind from the threat of nuclear catastrophe, are particularly clear against the background of the imperialist policy of arms race and threat to peace.

Currently the struggle waged by all democratic and progressive forces for the abolition of the shameful system of apartheid is spreading in South Africa. The struggle is being waged under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) and its allies.

Last June the ANC held its second national consultative conference, which confirmed the role of the congress as the leading force of the people in its struggle for the implementation of the ideals of the national democratic revolution in our country. The conference set the task of promoting the further organizational unification of our ranks and the entire liberation movement. Unquestionably, this forum will become a most important stage in strengthening the leading role of the ANC in the struggle waged by our people for national and social liberation.

As has always been the case

OUR KNOWLEDGE, STRENGTH AND WEAPON

WE LEARNED FROM LENIN

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 86 (signed to press 16 Apr 86) pp 83-84

[Article by William Kashtan, Canadian CP secretary general]

[Text] A Leninist anniversary is a good occasion for thinking once again of the influence which the ideas of Vladimir Ilich Lenin had on the communist movement, including the Communist Party of Canada. No single work by Lenin could be found in Canada at the time that our party was founded in 1921. Introducing such works into the country was strictly forbidden. Until then, revolutionary-thinking Canadians knew about Lenin only from the press and the radio which, naturally, were misrepresenting everything occurring in the country known as Russia, as they still do. It is difficult to understand the precise reason for which the U.S. Department of State undertook at that time the translation and publication of Lenin's work "The Infant Disease 'Leftism' in Communism." Various ways and means had to be found to bring this work into Canada. This, however, was accomplished, and the work opened the eyes of socialist-thinking Canadians. At that time anarcho-syndicalism enjoyed a certain influence in our trade union movement. Some trade union activists were leaning toward sectarianism and the creation of new "pure" trade unions, separated from the masses which were members of the traditional trade unions. Others, infected by "parliamentary negativism," considered turning our backs to the parliamentary struggle too revolutionary. Various types of reformism were widespread. In that atmosphere, "An Infantile Disorder" was a breath of fresh air. All basic ideas contained in Lenin's book were of tremendous importance to our young party and to all revolutionary-leaning workers: how to work among the masses and how to solve the problems of a united front and revolutionary alliances. The book became the base of the program of action of our communist party in terms of the working class and the labor movement organized in the trade unions.

I mention "An Infantile Disorder" because it was the first exposure of the revolutionary Canadian workers to Lenin. Subsequently, at all stages of the historical path of the Communist Party of Canada, Lenin's fundamental ideas were our accurate compass pointing the road ahead. "The State and Revolution," "Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism" and other works by Lenin, which were major contributions to the development of revolutionary thinking and revolutionary action, helped our party accurately to define its tasks and carry out its historical mission. The nature of our state, Canada's

status as a "second-rate" imperialist country within the imperialist system, the national problem and its realities under Canadian conditions, the class struggle, the exposure of social reformism, the leading role of the working class in the struggle for radical social change and, in this connection, the question of alliances and of war and peace, Lenin's ideas on all of these problems were of invaluable help to the party in the formulation of its program "The Way to Socialism in Canada" and in defining its strategy and tactics at each stage of activities, with due consideration given to characteristics of our country.

That is precisely why Lenin's ideas and Leninism as a whole have always been and remain a starting point in our work, as we struggle to solve the main problem of unifying all Canadians in the struggle against the threat of nuclear war or for a solution to the crisis experienced by capitalist society. Thus, it is precisely under present-day circumstances, in the face of the dangerous political course taken by the most reactionary groups of American imperialism and its NATO allies, that Lenin's concept of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, and the skill clearly demonstrated by Lenin of taking into consideration the views of the various bourgeois political factions, thereby erecting obstacles on the path of imperialism's treacherous objectives, assume exceptional importance.

In Canada, as in other capitalist countries, tireless attempts are being made to belittle by all possible means the significance of Lenin's ideas or to depict them as a "purely Russian phenomenon," pretending that these ideas are of no universal significance. Life itself, however, refuted those who tried to refute Lenin. Indeed, all ideas alien to Leninism have failed and are failing, for they lack the granite-like firmness of scientific socialism, whereas Lenin's ideas, Leninism, continue to blossom and grow in depth and width, beaming their guiding light at new problems and new phenomena in social life, which demand an answer.

Lenin was and remains the great representative of mankind, a powerful revolutionary force, a man for all times, who contributed to the creative development of Marxism not only during his lifetime but also for a long time afterwards.

To paraphrase Lenin, we can say what he wrote about Marxism, that Leninism is omnipotent because it is true. Lenin's ideas are retaining their full value today, in our stormy time. They are a reliable compass in the forward movement of mankind. Each step forward taken by the working class leads to Lenin and his ideas. That is what reality is and must be.

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## LENINISM IS OUR COMPASS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 86 (signed to press 16 Apr 86) pp 85-88

[Article by Nadim Abdel Samad, Lebanese CP Central Committee, deputy secretary general]

[Text] In whatever country he may be toiling, the true communist would find it difficult to solve the problems which arise in the course of the struggle without turning to Lenin, finding in his rich legacy a guide for his activities. This applies, above all, to the method Lenin developed for the study of a variety of situations in the course of the development of the revolutionary process, on the theoretical and practical levels. The close study of Lenin's legacy becomes particularly important on the eve of or during crucial situations.

As the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress noted, such is precisely the case of the current international situation, resulting from the extremely aggravated struggle in the world arena, in which the question of peace and its preservation plays the main role. In the Arab region as well we are facing such a crucial situation, characterized by the fact that the struggle between the Arab national liberation movement, on the one hand, and imperialism, Zionism and reaction, on the other, has reached its peak. In this connection, the revolutionary forces face a number of major and qualitatively new problems. In Lebanon, which for more than 10 years, has been the main arena of confrontation between the forces of progress and reaction in our area, we are on the eve of a sharp change in the development of the national democratic revolution. This is manifested through the interweaving of national with social problems and forms of struggle, which also determines the greater and more complex problems which we must solve.

Therefore, in the international arena, the Arab world and Lebanon we, Marxists-Leninists, are facing problems which would be difficult to solve without the help of Leninist methodology and without applying it in making a profound study of the actual current situation.

Lenin frequently pointed out that the proper Marxist method in analyzing a phenomenon or problem calls for concentrating on matters such as the historical conditions which led to the appearance of the phenomenon, its class nature and specific forms of manifestation. On this basis, if we try to

define the condition of the cause of peace throughout the world today, under the specific conditions of the current international situation, we would inevitably reach the conclusion that in the nuclear age this is not simply a case of preventing a new world war. The problem of peace has become a problem of the survival or death of mankind, a problem of rescuing world civilization through the efforts of all peace-loving forces, which today have a tremendous political potential.

The defense of peace is also an inseparable, an organic part of the common struggle against imperialism and for national and social liberation, progress and socialism. Furthermore, it is the pivot of this struggle under contemporary conditions. This clearly reveals the class and revolutionary nature of the problem of peace, which is the main problem of our age and which we, Marxists-Leninists, characterize, on the basis of a Leninist analysis, as an age of transition from capitalism to socialism. Consequently, we can say that the cause of peace is the most important component of the struggle waged by the revolutionary forces in the world arena for strengthening the nature of the contemporary age as an age of transition, and for the development of the process of transition from capitalism to socialism under the conditions of the peaceful historical competition between the two global sociopolitical systems. That is precisely the way the question is formulated in the documents of the historical 27th Congress of the party of Soviet communists, entirely consistent with the Leninist approach to the analysis of the nature of our age. We, Lebanese communists, fully share this assessment.

In considering the basic tasks which directly stem from the development of the revolutionary process in the countries of the Arab East, we can say that the method which Lenin developed for analyzing the nature and motive forces of the national liberation movement has lost none of its value. We recall Lenin's words to communists in the Orient: "We must realize that the vanguard alone cannot accomplish the transition to communism. The task is to awaken the revolutionary activeness for independent action and organization of the toiling masses, regardless of their level, to translate the true communist doctrine, which was written for communists in more advanced countries, into the language of each nation, to carry out the practical assignments which must be fulfilled immediately, and blend with the common struggle waged by the proletariat of other countries.

"Such are the problems the solution to which you will find in no communist booklet, but in the common struggle initiated by Russia. You will have to formulate and resolve this problem using your own experience" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 39, p 330).

Lenin's conclusion is relevant today, when the national liberation movement has become the most important inseparable part of the socialist renovation of the world as a result of the convergence between the tasks of national and social liberation. This conclusion is also relevant under the specific conditions of the Arab world, when the very course of the historical process for the past 10 years has ascribed particular significance to the national problem and to the struggle against imperialism and for national liberation, which are inseparably related to social liberation. However, we do not forget in this case that Lenin called for the consistent study and proper assessment



of the role of classes--progressive as well as reactionary--in any national movement and for determining the interest motivating their participation.

It is in this light that we see that the class nature of the national problem under the conditions prevailing at the present stage in the Arab countries is not limited to its overall anti-imperialist trend. Increasingly, the class struggle is becoming its pivot. Any program aimed at resolving the national problem has a class base and nature. It is important to note in this connection that most of the Arab bourgeoisie is increasingly trying to separate problems of national liberation from the tasks of social progress and avoiding the formulation of the latter. It actually leans toward abandoning the struggle against imperialism, which is equivalent to abandoning the solution of the national problem as a whole.

This situation, in our view, calls for drastically activating the participation of the working class and its party in our area in solving the national liberation problems. This can be accomplished by formulating a broad revolutionary program, which could attract the other progressive forces representing different classes, and energize their struggle within a united front.

Our conclusion, when we say that the solution of national problems in our countries is impossible without the development of the class struggle against the forces of reaction and imperialism, is based on the fact that the contemporary historical stage in the revolutionary process in Lebanon is that of national democratic revolution. Its development and victory, according to the familiar Leninist thesis, is one of the purposes of the historical mission of the working class. The successful implementation of this mission by the working class is a decisive factor in the development of the revolutionary process.

Under present-day conditions, the connection between the revolutionary struggle within each Arab country and the fate of the global revolutionary process becomes closer. The socialist countries, headed by the Soviet Union, have always been and remain the natural strategic allies of national liberation movements. We always remember the behest of the great Lenin, who always emphasized the reciprocal interest in the unification of the forces of socialism with those of national liberation. He wrote: "We shall dedicate all efforts to become closer to and merge with the Mongols, the Persians, the Indians and the Egyptians; we deem it our duty and it is in our interest to accomplish this, for otherwise socialism in Europe will remain unstable" (op. cit., vol 30, p 120).

The right to self-determination, as Lenin pointed out, is the pivot of the national problem. We know that the Palestinian problem, which is the core of the entire national problem in the Arab world, is aggravated by the lack of conditions for that nation to exercise its right to self-determination. The main forces which hinder the implementation of this right of the Palestinian people and, above all, the right to have their own independent state, are, above all, imperialism and Zionism. However, the Arab reaction is beginning increasingly to participate in activities aimed at preventing the solution of the Palestinian problem. We know, however, that in the final account the

struggle waged by the Palestinian people will be crowned by victory, for the aspiration of the peoples for national freedom is unconquerable and there is no power in the world which can stop this progressive historical process.

The situation in Lebanon extremely worsened after the open Israeli aggression of 1982, which brought misfortune and trouble to the country. We were helped in finding an accurate solution under the conditions of the aggravated situation in Lebanon by the creative application of the Leninist concepts on the various forms of struggle and the need always to single out the main factor. Understanding the importance of Lenin's idea of the need to be ready to use all forms of struggle and to convert from one form of struggle to another, enabled us rapidly to convert to organizing a revolutionary armed resistance in response to armed reactionary violence. The active mobilizing role which the Communist Party of Lebanon has played for the past 10 years allowed the Lebanese working class to assume a leading position in the liberation struggle, including the armed struggle, against reaction within the country and, later, against Israeli occupation.

Lenin's dialectics of the interconnection among forms of struggle is based on the need to use all of them, always singling out a specific one according to specific circumstances. At one stage, we came across the dangerous attempt on the part of some to turn the armed struggle into a virtually exclusive form of revolutionary work, separate from and even opposing the political struggle. On the other, a dangerous trend developed of a diametrically opposite nature, i.e., the tendency to consider the armed struggle an activity which hinders the development of the revolutionary process. The supporters of this trend tried to restrain the participation of the working class and other popular strata in resisting the occupation forces and the local reaction with arms, under the pretext that this clashes with and weakens the other forms of struggle. We emphasized that the main criterion in assessing the extent to which a given form of struggle under specific circumstances is consistent with the interest of the working class and the other popular strata is the extent of the contribution made by said form in promoting and developing the revolutionary process as a whole. Our experience proved once again, convincingly, that the armed struggle does not exclude the use of other forms of struggle. Conversely, it demands their development and determines the need to take into consideration the possibility of rapidly converting to new methods of struggle should a new situation arise.

Such a course charted by the Lebanese communists and the country's revolutionary democratic forces, contributed to the general patriotic upsurge related to the Israeli aggression and to the fast energizing of armed operations of national resistance, which became nationwide. This turned the resistance to the Israeli occupation into a mass armed struggle and, in the final account, forced the Israeli occupation forces to retreat from the main Lebanese territories they had seized. An equally important role was played by organizing a patriotic movement and mobilizing the masses in the struggle against the American-NATO military presence in Lebanon, represented by the so-called "multinational forces," and the exposure of their true role as accomplices of the Israeli occupation forces.

Thanks to the firmness of the Lebanese national patriotic forces, who relied, above all, on Syria and its effective assistance and USSR support, we were able to take major steps toward reaching our main objectives. The expulsion of American-NATO forces, the major blow which was struck at the military formations of extreme-right reaction and the significant damage caused to the Israeli occupation forces were the major accomplishments of the Lebanese patriots. These accomplishments led to a tangible change in the balance of forces both within the country and in the entire area. The defeat inflicted on the United States in Lebanon and the expulsion of the Israeli occupation forces from most of the territory they had seized are particularly significant and give the victories of the Lebanese national patriotic forces major international significance. These successes were a direct proof of the fact that the battle we are waging in Lebanon, from the viewpoint of its influence on the course of the struggle in our area and in direct relation to the development of the struggle in the world arena, is a specific contribution of the Lebanese communists, working class and all national patriotic forces, fully consistent with Lenin's behest, to the international struggle waged against the aggressive course of imperialism, for safeguarding peace the world over and for eliminating the threat of nuclear war.

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CONTEMPORARY WORLD: TRENDS AND CONTRADICTIONS

SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL ACHIEVEMENTS IN THE SERVICE OF PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 86 (signed to press 16 Apr 86) pp 89-100

[Text] As it draws closer to the 21st century, mankind is analyzing and reassessing a great deal of what determined its development in the final decades of the now-ending century. What should be carried over into the new century and the new millennium and what should be rejected? What should be changed and what values should be redirected in ensuring the advance of civilization?

These questions were sharply raised in the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress and, above all, in the Central Committee political report presented by M.S. Gorbachev. Never before had mankind come so close to the fatal line and Hamlet's question, to be or not to be? had never sounded so literally as a last warning to reason and a test of the people's ability to surmount accumulated global difficulties.

As the greatest achievements of our time, science, technology and scientific and technical progress are the most concentrated expression of the human mind, which means that they too must be tested. What took place during the 20th century and what is the situation of science and technology today? What do they promise to or threaten with the peoples in the future? These are specific practical problems which inevitably acquire a political and ideological aspect. Today the various social forces and movements are undertaking their solution.

The answers to such questions are different and frequently conflicting, and so are the actions taken, depending on their interpretation. The entire matter is one of the role which political forces and movements play in the confrontation between the global social systems--socialism and capitalism--and their attitude toward the main problem of our time: the preservation of universal peace and the prevention of a thermonuclear catastrophe which threatens global civilization with doom.

At the onset of our century mankind had no such problems or dilemmas, not only because the social conditions of its existence were different. Science itself and technical novelties based on it did not provide substantive grounds for such problems. It was as though the future greatness and "demonology" of

science and technology existed in science fiction only. However, something which radically changed the status of science and technology in society took place in the middle of the 20th century. Science began to turn into a direct production and social force and a powerful factor in international politics.

This was a reflection of the profound processes which had taken place within science and technology themselves, when the scientific and technical revolution began in the 1940s and 1950s, inseparably linking qualitative changes in basic sciences (physics, chemistry, mathematics, biology, etc.) with radical changes in equipment and technology. This led to the appearance of new disciplines and trends at the "intersection" of different sciences and technologies (cybernetics, electronics, etc.), while many contemporary industrial sectors were simply created in scientific laboratories, as was the case with nuclear energy.

Today successes in the basic sciences, in connection with the revolutionary changes in equipment and technology, are most apparent in the development and application of microelectronics, informatics and biotechnology. Ahead lie mastering the energy of thermonuclear synthesis, unraveling the secrets of the human brain and mind, advances in medicine, etc. All of this marks a qualitatively new stage in the scientific and technical revolution and, consequently, opens new opportunities for the development of human civilization in forms specific to the different socioeconomic systems and on a global scale.

However, those same scientific and technological processes, put on the service of the military-industrial complex of the imperialist countries, led (as confirmed by numerous facts) to the creation of new, ever more "advanced" and "efficient" means of human destruction, including "absolute" ones, i.e., capable of totally destroying mankind and all life on earth. However, it is precisely this that makes it necessary today to realize more clearly some common problems and approaches, to enable us to formulate a survival and development strategy shared by all mankind. This can and must become the conceptual base for cooperation and joint action among all countries in science and technology and promoting scientific and technical progress for the good of all nations. Naturally, the extreme situation related to the threat of the universal destruction of mankind is not the main, not to mention the exclusive, reason for such a trend in the development of science and technology which, by their very nature and essential purpose, are profoundly humane. Under the conditions of the present "divided" world, however, it is these same natural state and purpose that are frequently twisted and distorted. We must take this reality into consideration.

The new situation which developed here in recent decades and years, was comprehensively analyzed at the 27th CPSU Congress in the party's Central Committee political report, the congress' resolution and the new edition of the CPSU program. They emphasize, among others, that "the question of the use to which the results of the scientific and technical revolution will be put has become one of the main questions in the current sociopolitical struggle. Present science and technology enable us to ensure an abundance of goods on earth and to create the material facilities for the blossoming of society and the development of the individual. It is those same creations of the human



mind and hands that are turned against man himself by class egotism and for the sake of the enrichment of the elite ruling the capitalist world. Such is the crying contradiction with which mankind has reached the threshold of the 21st century."

Characteristically, in emphasizing these alternatives of scientific and technical progress, the new edition of the CPSU program is based on the theory substantiated by Marx himself, of science as a social institution, pitted against bourgeois-reformist concepts of science and technocracy, which absolutize the internal factors governing the functioning of science and technology and separate them from the social factors.

Under capitalist conditions "the exploitation of science and the theoretical progress of mankind takes place" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 47, p 554), distorting its nature and purpose. Such exploitation of science has reached its extreme forms today above all through militarization. We know that currently approximately 25 percent of the total number of scientific workers in the world work in the military area, which absorbs up to 40 percent of the cost of all scientific research and experimental design (NIOKR). In the United States, for example, total appropriations for such purposes amounted to \$43,199,000,000 in the 1984 fiscal year (of these \$26,408,000,000 were for military NIOKR); \$50,958,000,000 in 1985 (\$32,318,000,000 for military NIOKR); \$57,598,000,000 in 1986 (\$39,426,000,000 for military NIOKR). Between 1980 and 1985 allocations for military NIOKR increased 250 percent, whereas appropriations for science as a whole increased by 75 percent only (CHEMICAL AND ENGINEERING NEWS, 18 February 1985, p 13).

Scientific research and experimental design related to "star wars" preparations are exceptionally expensive and dangerous to mankind. The U.S. military-industrial complex is hoping to extract from the taxpayers some \$70 billion for such purposes in the immediate future. According to the experts, the cost of development of the first line of space armaments by the year 2000 will total \$100 billion; the further deployment of the space "shield" system will cost no less than \$500 billion or, most likely, 2.5 times more.

Plans for shifting the arms race to outer space are a crying example of distorting the meaning and content of scientific and technical development and subordinating it to the objectives and motivations of militarism, rooted in the socioeconomic nature of the exploiting system. That is why the new edition of the CPSU program notes with full justification that "not science and technology by themselves are a threat to peace. Peace is threatened by imperialism and its policy, the policy of the most reactionary militaristic and aggressive forces of our time. An end to this threat is possible only by curbing these forces." All suggestions and actions on the part of the Soviet Union are precisely aimed at halting the militarization of science and technology, the scientific and technical developments related to "star wars" plans in particular. This is clearly confirmed by M.S. Gorbachev's 15 January 1986 statement, which contains a specific program for the total elimination of nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons by the end of this century, with the nonmilitarization of space. Like scientist in the other socialist countries, scientists in the USSR actively support this historical concept of a nuclear-free world, consistent with the interest of mankind and



the needs of science itself, the sole purpose of which is to safeguard the peaceful future of the planet. Today mankind has no more urgent task than safeguarding civilization itself. This is impossible without the elimination of the nuclear threat, curbing the arms race on earth and preventing its move into outer space. This precisely is the purpose of all practical steps, plans and suggestions of the USSR in international politics. Our choice here is not the madness of military rivalry but the organization of a constructive all-embracing peaceful interaction among countries and nations in all areas, including science. The Soviet communists are convinced that the intellectual potential acquired by mankind can and must be used for its direct purpose, which is multiplying material and spiritual resources. Our choice is the peaceful use of the atom and outer space.

No one can stand aside or be indifferent to the cause of safeguarding peace. This involves one and all. Here as well the contribution of each state and responsible political party, social organization and person is important.

The course of universal historical progress proves that scientific activities and scientific and technical progress play a tremendous role and could play an even greater one in solving mankind's problems. However, this new social function of world science also presumes international cooperation and cohesion within the global scientific community itself, greater social and humanistic responsibility of scientists and rejection of all forms of scientific and technical services to imperialist militarism and the military-industrial complex. Science for the sake of man and mankind and science for solving the most vital global problems is the only possible orientation which should inspire scientists the world over.

Our country pays great attention to the many antiwar movements of Western scientists, although a number of them are quite heterogeneous and their objectives are quite vague. We support and are implementing the familiar appeal contained in the Russel-Einstein manifesto, which was issued more than 30 years ago, of learning to think anew and to take practical steps which would exclude war and the arms race. Soviet scientists actively participate in the Pugwash movement, the movement of "World Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War," the newly developing movement of ecologists in the struggle for peace, and others. They welcome the position taken by their colleagues in the United States and other NATO countries, who refuse to participate in the development and implementation of "star wars" plans.

Characteristically, the new edition of the CPSU program includes the mass democratic movements against imperialism and its policy of aggression and oppression and for democracy and social progress, among the main motive forces of social progress. Naturally, not all movements and protests by scientists, whose status is quite specific within the social structure of the capitalist West, are based on a clear understanding of the real origins of the threat of nuclear war. As a whole, however, they confirm the scientists' awareness of their social responsibility and enhanced social activeness. Objectively, these movements are opposed to the policy of reactionary imperialist circles and blend with the general trend of the struggle for peace.

Another one of their major features is the fact that with their programs they not only provide a potential alternative to the arms race and the militaristic deformation of science but, in frequent cases, offer specific means of international (including scientific and technical) cooperation. Therefore, by their very nature the antiwar movements and initiatives of scientists are frequently inseparable from practical activities aimed at organizing a constructive interaction among countries belonging to different systems in resolving specific problems of reciprocal interests.

A characteristic example in this case is the activities of the International Life Institute (created in 1960 on the initiative of Professor M. Maroua. The seat of this international organization is Geneva. More than 2,000 scientists and researchers from 60 countries, including 60 Nobel Prize winners, participate in the institute's work). In his answer to the letter of its head, Professor M. Maroua, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized that "the consequences of the application of the latest technology for the sake of human life, food, nutrition, environment and the animate world, ethics, biomedicine, science, education, television and the future of mankind, and other areas on which the Life Institute is working, were formulated by life itself and are becoming increasingly tangible and sometimes crucial and urgent, with every passing year. Perhaps not everyone is aware of this now. However, everyone will feel and understand this tomorrow, not past the threshold of the new millennium."

In turn, the USSR is prepared to consider proposals included in the "Science in the Service of Life" program developed by the institute and other programmatic suggestions which it intends to formulate in the course of the forthcoming international conference and, based on their nature, use them in its practical policy.

Readiness to engage in most extensive cooperation and in unifying the efforts of countries in the application of scientific and technical achievements for purposes of peace and human progress is a fixture of Soviet foreign policy. "We," M.S. Gorbachev pointed out at his meeting with a delegation of the congress of Nobel Prize winners, in November 1985, "are in favor of an essentially different way of accelerating progress in science and technology; we are in favor of technological competition and constructive cooperation under the conditions of a lasting and just peace." This was pointed out most emphatically and clearly at the 27th CPSU Congress.

Obviously, this approach gives a new meaning to the very concept of peaceful coexistence. In the new edition of the CPSU program it is defined as "not simply the absence of war" but as "a type of international order dominated not by military power but by good neighborly relations and cooperation, with a broad exchange of achievements of science and technology and cultural values, for the good of all nations."

Extensive international cooperation among scientists becomes, therefore, an inseparable element of international life and an important social prerequisite for strengthening the trend toward the self-preservation of mankind. It is a question, essentially, of one of the main trends in shaping a social factor for resolving global contradictions which are today the base of many most vital tasks of mankind. Here as well we must emphasize that the concrete

results which have been achieved are a reliable foundation for strengthening the prestige of antiwar movements and the initiatives of progressive scientists in the nonsocialist countries and for augmenting their numbers. Furthermore, most importantly, they are increasingly reinforcing the material fabric of the policy of peaceful coexistence.

Historical progress has raised mankind to a qualitatively new and exceptionally responsible level. The growing accumulation of knowledge, gigantic scientific and technical (including military-technical) progress, and the unprecedented growth of the possibilities of conscious human influence on natural processes as well as the spontaneous influence of such processes through expanding production and other human activities, the approaching exhaustion of some types of nonrecoverable resources and the intensification of disproportions among the extraction, production and consumption of others have sharply intensified the degree of responsibility of man for the consequences of his actions. Mankind has lost the right of making mistakes, if one may say so.

If it is to survive, mankind must unquestionably live and act in a different, a new fashion. The first and most important step in that direction is eliminating the wasting of huge resources on military purposes and directing the results of human labor exclusively toward creative ones. It is precisely this that would create favorable opportunities for solving global problems through the collective efforts of all countries, problems which became particularly aggravated in the second half of the 20th century and which determine the quality of life on earth. They include environmental protection, the solution of the power, raw material, food and demographic problems, the peaceful development of space and the resources of the world's oceans, surmounting the economic backwardness of many liberated countries, eradicating dangerous diseases, etc.

The dependence of the solution of global problems on real progress in disarmament is most clearly apparent in the study of the ecological situation. According to economists, in the last decades of the 20th century all countries must allocate between 3 and 5 percent of their GNP, or no less than \$150 billion per year, for environmental protection. In the United States alone, according to some estimates, in order to prevent the further worsening of the quality of the environment, no less than \$75 billion must be spent annually in the 1980s. The 1986 military appropriations in that country will exceed \$300 billion and, throughout the world, approximately \$800 billion. By the year 2000 they will reach the astronomical figure of about \$1 trillion. This figure is several hundred percent higher than the funds needed to eliminate hunger and poverty on the planet, abolish illiteracy, develop health care and housing construction, etc. In other words, mankind simply must halt the senseless arms race and use thus released funds for constructive purposes, for in the opposite case the entire set of global problems will become further aggravated, which could also create a mortal threat to the very existence of mankind. The 27th CPSU Congress rated this set of problems as one of the main sources of conflict in the contemporary world. The CPSU Central Committee political report to the congress emphasizes that "universal, global problems cannot be resolved by a single country or group of countries but by global cooperation and close constructive interaction among most countries."

In the capitalist world the extensive use of new equipment and technology is tied to numerous and high social and human costs, mass unemployment above all. It is estimated that by the year 2000 the use of robots in the developed capitalist countries could replace up to 75 percent of currently employed manpower. In the United States, for example, the "second industrial revolution" will change in the immediate future the nature of the work of some 50 million blue- and white-collar workers. It is expected that by the year 2000 80 percent of all manual operations will become automated, as the result of which no less than 40 million workers will lose their jobs. Studies conducted in Japan, the report of the ILO on the socioeconomic consequences of the use of new technologies reads, indicates that the number of jobs lost to robots is between less than 0.5 and 5. Similar studies conducted in the FRG yielded a ratio of between 0.8 and 6.2 jobs per robot.

In this connection, a variety of social-reformist Utopias are becoming popular in the West, depicting the future "information society," "new industrial civilization," "scientific capitalism" and others, claiming that in the "age of robots" it becomes possible to solve the problem of "surplus manpower" and eliminate social alienation and degradation of the individual. They suggest a variety of steps to make more active use of "nonmaterial areas of human labor and way of life," and call for taking into consideration the type of "coil" that man is and to promote man's more intensive development. A great deal is being written on this subject particularly in Japan, where optimistic prospects are sometimes related to the national features of the culture, morality concepts, etc. Similar purposes are pursued in the revival of the various theories of the "human capital" in the United States and other capitalist countries.

But how are such concepts and theories put to practical use? Interesting data in this connection may be found in the book by Werner Rugemer, titled "New Technology--Old Society. Silicon Valley: Center of New Technology in the United States" ("Neue Technik--alte Gesellschaft. Silikon Valley: Zentrum der neuen Technologien in den USA," Köln, 1985). The author, who is a doctor of philosophy and editor of the journal DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION (FRG), set himself the task of studying the new myth of present capitalist society, the myth of today's "paradise" on earth known as "Silicon Valley," which has quite definite geographic coordinates: "south of San Francisco, in California." Could the "new technologies" cure the sick economy of modern capitalism? How accurate is it to link such hopes to "Silicon Valley," the largest area of concentration of new technology?

Werner Rugemer went to California to see all of this for himself. He spoke with members of trade unions, managers, scientists, workers, white-collar workers and teachers. He visited enterprises, residential districts, universities and hospitals. The result of his observations and talks was his book, which lifts the fog with which the ideologues of the "new capitalism" are trying to hide the obvious truth that bourgeois society has not gained a "second breath" in the least under the conditions of the scientific and technical revolution.

The myth of "Silicon Valley" is promoted primarily by young companies. Old companies, such as Lockheed, do not need it, having acquired their markets and

partners (the Pentagon, etc.) some time ago. The young companies which are which make personal computers, for example, which are becoming an item in mass demand, need ideological camouflage. They generate views of "corporate socialism," allegedly practiced in "Silicon Valley" or, at least, in some enterprises in that area. What they mean is what has been a European joke for many years: the boss and the workers call themselves by their first name, eat in the same cafeteria, high-level managers wear blue jeans at work, etc. At "Silicon Valley," they have gone further: the companies pay for New Year's celebrations, free saunas are provided, the companies buy electronic games, etc. The West German engineer, working in California, who described these new developments, was enthusiastic. In his words, whenever he does not have to deal with officials, he goes to work in his blue jeans, at which point he feels that his work becomes part of his life, and an area where self-expression is possible.

Even understanding what predominates in such views is difficult: mockery or demagoguery. The author describes the other side of the coin of such "socialist" areas of life in "Silicon Valley" and concludes that hiding behind them is that same old capitalism: class hierarchy, a gap between labor and capital, dependence on the boss, and efforts to instill in the minds of the working people the values of the bourgeois world.

Films shown during unpaid holidays describe the troubles which trade unions bring to the enterprise. What is the point, for example, of a Japanese motion picture in which a worker, smiling sweetly at the camera, says: "I will always remain with my company, even if I have to part with my family." Another worker says laughing: "When we had trade unions everything went haywire; everything improved after we kicked them out."

Those unwilling to participate in such celebrations are fired. Particular emphasis is put on steps taken by the companies which underscore to their advantage the bottlenecks in the social policy of the state. "Free" medical services at enterprises and loans granted for house building are highly praised. The purpose of all this is to promote the ideology of "social partnership," and to hinder the growth of a class consciousness.

One is puzzled, the author notes, by such capitalist "socialism," for it does not contain even a hint of true socialism. In our view, however, what is systematic is that in connection with the development of new equipment and technology, capitalism is turning to socialist ideas, although monstrously distorting them.

Therefore, under the conditions of the contemporary technological revolution, again and again the obvious inability of an obsolete system to meet the true needs of society is confirmed.

Such needs can be properly met only through profound social changes, in the course of which the new technology and equipment will serve man and his development as the "self-seeking aim" of history. Such is the conclusion of the Marxist view, which is politically developed in the struggle waged by communist and worker parties in the developed capitalist countries for increasing the rights of the working people in determining the specific areas



of development and content of contemporary scientific and technical progress. This struggle is aimed not against new technology as such but against the capitalist forms of its utilization. It is waged for the sake of a humanistic trend in scientific and technical progress from the agenda the formula implementation of a unified global program of scientific and technical cooperation, the significance of which would be difficult to overestimate, particularly when it becomes a question of basic science and new equipment and technology, which will bring substantial changes to the people's working and living conditions by the year 2000. It is believed that by the end of the century the amount of scientific knowledge will double and the information flow will increase by a factor of more than 30! A corresponding increase will be noted in the number of personal computers used not only at work but at home and in the training process in which their number is expected to increase, according to some data, from 250,000 in 1982 to 2.5 million in 1990. According to some estimates, the number of personal computers will reach 100 million by the end of the 1980s.

Throughout the world tremendous efforts are being made to shape and develop an industrial-information complex and new equipment and technology, the growth rates of which are absolutely unique. Let us remember that robot manufacturing was developed extensively only after the creation of microprocessors and microcomputers, between the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s. The first microprocessor was developed in 1971; by 1980 there were 250 million microprocessor systems throughout the world.

We would be fully justified by saying that informatics, which is based on high level electronic equipment, will become one of the main varieties of 21st century technology. According to a number of forecasts, microelectronic equipment will become a permanent feature in population's jobs and way of life in the industrially developed countries in the next 20 years. Tremendous efforts in this area are being made by the USSR and the other socialist countries. Truly infinite opportunities are now opening to the world community, opportunities which must be utilized in full.

The latest achievements of scientific and technical progress, related to the development of microelectronics, informatics, robot technology and biotechnology, are the direct result of the successes achieved in basic science which, today, is not only of applied value (which, in itself, is exceptionally important) but of absolute, i.e., cultural and human, value, which is an essential element of the social and humanistic potential of science as a whole. This is clearly manifested in concepts which assert the humanistic trend of scientific and technical progress and its cultural evaluation, in which man, his needs and well-being, is the starting point. It is from this that Marxism proceeds and one can only welcome the humanistic trend in science, which is developing within the modern world scientific community, subordinated to the objectives of man and society, combining research with value approaches, developing the socioethical foundations of science and its organic inclusion within the overall system of humanistic culture. That is why movements of scientists demanding more efficient control over the observance of ethical and legal norms, codes and agreements relative to science, deserve comprehensive support.



Naturally, it would be extremely foolish to exaggerate the possibilities of such movements in humanizing the progress of scientific knowledge and technology. However, it would be even stupider and, essentially, irresponsible to ignore the benefits of such an active socioethical and humanistic position taken by the scientific public today and in the future.

That is why many progressive scientists justifiably say that science must become more closely attached to purely human values. Such orientation is making its way in the activities of a number of international organizations, the United Nations above all, as reflected in the organization of conferences on science and technology aimed at developing and implementing the UNESCO program on "Science and Human Needs," etc. Such objectives also inspire nongovernmental scientific organizations, such as the International Life Institute, the Club of Rome and others. This contributes to the assertion of the humanistic trend in science and to strengthening cooperation and mutual aid within the global scientific community.

Today culture, mass communications media, international relations and man himself, in terms of his natural-biological and sociocultural existence and development, are becoming increasingly influenced by contemporary scientific and technical progress. However, science and technology not only interact with these areas of human life but also influence them, sometimes changing them radically. In turn, they are greatly influenced in their development by social and human factors. It is precisely in this area that new possibilities exist for the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and opening new ways of international cooperation in scientific research for the good of man and all nations on earth.

The relations which have developed within the socialist community, which has a major scientific and technical potential, are an example of the fruitfulness and promising nature of cooperation in science and technology. Suffice it to say that the socialist community accounts for approximately one-third of all scientific workers in the world. CEMA scientists account for as much as 40 percent of claimed inventions in the world and about 20 percent of world patents. Currently some 3,000 scientific and technical organizations of CEMA members are cooperating with each-other. Every year some 2,000 scientific research projects are completed and 200-300 new or improved designs of machines, equipment and instruments are created jointly; 100-150 technological processes and 100-120 new types of materials and preparations are developed.

Today the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress of CEMA Members Until the Year 2000, which was adopted at the 41st (Extraordinary) CEMA Session, assumes strategic importance for all countries within the socialist community. The CEMA members took primarily into consideration the main trends of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution and possible trends in the development of scientific thinking in selecting priority areas of cooperation within the framework of this program.

As we know, the Comprehensive Program defines five main areas of cooperation. They include the development of electronics in the national economy, i.e., the organic combination of the achievements of contemporary electronics with industrial technologies in all economic sectors; comprehensive automation,

which includes flexible production systems and basic production processes; a significant increase in the share of nuclear electric power plants in the energy balance of CEMA countries; development of new materials with predetermined properties and technologies for their production and processing; and taking a revolutionary leap in the development of biotechnology (in this area, in the USSR alone, some 250 types of essentially new products will be created and developed on the basis of biotechnology in the period through 1990). The CEMA Complex Program particularly emphasizes that "these areas, which are the foundations of contemporary revolutionary changes in science, technology and production, are the base for the development and implementation of a coordinated scientific and technical policy by CEMA members in areas of mutual interest, related to economic development and cooperation and the pursuit of a unified scientific and technical policy by interested countries." The program stipulates the solution of 93 problems each one of which is subdivided into a number of topics and assignments. The results of such projects, which cover more than one-half of these problems, will be applied in the production of new prototypes and technologies in the next 3 years. The scale of industrial development will expand subsequently. The implementation of the program will lead to a profound structural reorganization of the national economies of the participating countries and will assist in the renovation of their production base.

It is to this effect, for example, that the USSR is already developing 16 organizations of an essentially new type, such as intersectorial scientific and technical complexes. Virtually all of them are leading institutions working on problems of the CEMA Comprehensive Program. Broadening the practice of concluding comprehensive international agreements on cooperation, covering the entire cycle of scientific research-production-marketing, is also scheduled to play an important role.

The implementation of the program will make it possible to at least double public labor productivity in CEMA countries as a whole by the year 2000 and drastically to reduce consumption of energy and raw materials per unit of national income. The implementation of said tasks will strengthen even further the positions of socialism in the peaceful competition with capitalism and reinforce, as the new draft of the CPSU program notes, "the technical and economic invulnerability of the community to hostile imperialist actions, the effect of economic crises and other negative processes inherent in capitalism."

This conclusion is of major practical and political significance in scientific and technical development as well, where socialism is maximally harnessing above all its own resources and putting them on the service of its peoples. However, while working to achieve their objectives, above all through their own coordinated efforts, and strengthening their scientific and technical potential and economic safety and technical and economic invulnerability, the socialist countries intend actively to participate in the global division of labor and in scientific and technical cooperation with developing and other, including capitalist, countries.

As the Comprehensive Program emphasizes, the CEMA members are "ready to coordinate, on an equal and mutually acceptable basis, their actions for the

implementation of this program with other interested countries, including within the framework of programs for international scientific and technical cooperation of a humanitarian and peaceful trend, consistent with the objectives of the United Nations." Firmly rejecting the policy of bans and discrimination in science and technology, pursued by U.S. imperialist circles and some other capitalist countries, the CEMA members proceed in their Comprehensive Program from the fact that "such a policy harms international economic relations as a whole and contradicts the nature of scientific and technical progress which has assumed global scale." They are "convinced that international scientific and technical cooperation must be global and are confirming their readiness to make a substantial contribution to the development and implementation of a unified global program in this area."

The program of peaceful construction for the sake of man, adopted by CEMA countries, has nothing in common with the aspiration to establish some kind of privileged community of countries with a monopoly on progressive scientific and technical achievements. Such an objective is alien to our country and to the other members of the socialist community. Such is our consistent position, most clearly expressed in the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress and organically included in the concept of accelerated socioeconomic development.

The USSR is ready to engage in mutually profitable international cooperation. The suggestions submitted by our country in the United Nations on the development of international cooperation in the peaceful conquest of outer space, under conditions of its nonmilitarization, and the use of the results of space research in biology, medicine, material studies, weather forecasts and studies of the climate and the natural environment, the creation of satellite systems for communications and remote-control sounding of the earth and the development of the world's oceans, are meeting with a broad response. Joint basic scientific research and launching for such purposes of interplanetary ships, to Mars for example, and the creation through joint efforts and utilization for the good of all nations of new space technology, the industrialization of near-space, etc., lie ahead. Also known are our efforts in the area of international cooperation in mastering thermonuclear synthesis (in particular, the practical implementation of the "Tokamak" plan for an international experimental thermonuclear reactor, which, according to the specialists, could be built even before the year 2000). The Soviet Union was one of the active participants in the conclusion of an international convention on the economic utilization of the resources of the world's oceans and the organization of European cooperation in solving ecological, energy and transportation problems.

It is entirely clear that the combined efforts of countries in the utilization of scientific and technical achievements for the good of all nations will play an exceptionally major role in improving the international situation and strengthening the principles of peaceful coexistence. Therefore, any attempts at hindering such cooperation and wrecking existing agreements inflict incalculable harm to the peoples and hinder the development of the vital problems of mankind.

Today mankind has reached a level which demands an extreme feeling of responsibility. The consequences of a nuclear arms race can become dangerously unpredictable. Joint action is needed to prevent this.

The 27th CPSU Congress turned to all governments, parties, public organizations and movements, truly concerned with the fate of peace on earth with the appeal for closer and more productive cooperation in order to win the battle against war and for the creation of suitable and truly human material and spiritual living conditions for all nations, ensuring the habitability of our planet and the thrifty utilization of its resources. This applies, above all, to its main resources--man himself and his possibilities. It is precisely in this area that the Soviet communists are proposing a competition with the capitalist system under the conditions of a lasting peace.

Profound differences divide the two worlds. However, Marxism-Leninism has always rejected the metaphysical concepts of the division of human civilization into two totally separate historical trends, for the dialectical unity of competition and confrontation between the two opposite poles in the contemporary world not only does not exclude but presumes the existence of common interests in the progressive development of mankind. To realize this and to act correspondingly in world politics means to find an answer to the challenge of the age. In turn, socialism is prepared to do everything in its power to ensure a radical change for the better of the international situation, which is worsened as a result of the thoughtless actions of imperialist reaction.

With its new nuclear explosion in the Nevada testing grounds, the U.S. ruling group once again placed the selfish interests of the military-industrial circles above those of all nations; they did this in a demonstrative and arrogant fashion, scorning the opinion of the world community and ignoring any feeling of reality or responsibility.

The choice which faces today many scientists in the nonsocialist world is between the interest of mankind or the egotistical and imperial ambitions of the military-industrial complex. To most of them the choice is clear: the life and progress of civilization must and will continue; mankind must be rid of the threat of total annihilation. The unification of the efforts of scientists in all countries for the sake of this lofty objective is an urgent, noble and humane task which expresses and embodies the high social and humanistic responsibility of scientists for their decisions and actions.

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THE FUTURE: THE FORCE OF EXAMPLE OF REAL SOCIALISM

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[Article by Herbert Mies, Communist Party of Germany, chairman]

[Text] The most important question for us in the contemporary struggle for the preservation and strengthening of peace, securing jobs and protecting the environment, is what the Federal Republic of Germany must develop into by the year 2000. This question concerns scientists, publicists and politicians in our country. Considerations on how to prevent the catastrophe of a nuclear war and provide in the future jobs to all, what should the limits of economic growth be and should such limits be established, is new technology a curse or a benefit for the people and is it possible, and if so, how, to put an end to the destruction of nature are all crucial problems which concern today the citizens of the FRG more strongly than ever before. In this connection, an extensive debate concerning the future has developed in our country. Its particular political significance is that it reflects a situation of a spiritual turn, a change occurring in the thinking of broad toiling circles, young people in particular.

All such thoughts are clearly reflected in programmatic statements by social democratic and bourgeois politicians. This is confirmed by the titles of books written by noted social democrats, such as Erhard Eppler and Oskar Lafontaine: "Politics Demands a New View On the Future," and "A Different Progress." Although such works do not question the capitalist system, they nevertheless force us to take a new look at problems of peace and environmental protection and confirm the political relevance of discussions concerning the future. The fact that noted CDU politicians, such as Kurt Biedenkopf and Lotar Schpat, deem it necessary to present their bourgeois "concepts of the future" as a "new view on things" and a "turn to the future" indicates that they themselves are reacting to a fact they find alarming, namely that the broad circles of our people are increasingly sensing the unsuitability of the current social system in terms of the future.

In this discussion we, communists, must state our opinion, based on our entire political, theoretical and ideological potential. We must present our scientifically substantiated alternatives to the capitalist system, shaken up by crises and morally decayed, and to the imperialist system, hostile to



people and to life itself. One thing is clear: more than ever before today the solution of this problem is directly related to disseminating the progressive mission of real socialism and the essential advantages and accomplishments which the new world of labor, humanity and peace are demonstrating, compared with the historically obsolete capitalist system.

"Socialism has the force of example." This statement by Vladimir Ilich Lenin is assuming in our time tremendous practical significance to communists in the capitalist world. Today real socialism is exerting its influence above all through its consistent policy of peace, which was once again clearly expressed and developed by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev in the Central Committee political report to the 27th CPSU Congress. Naturally, however, socialism is influencing the world also by the force of its internal dynamics. Although in practice the attractiveness of the socialist world is manifested not simply and one-dimensionally, nevertheless, judging by the reaction of our public, one can clearly see the tremendous international significance of the fact that it is precisely in Lenin's country that socialist society is advancing in its accelerated socioeconomic development with new enthusiasm and new creative scope. The program for the dynamic upsurge of the national economy, and the enrichment of social life is being formulated and implemented in the other socialist countries as well.

The new intensified approach taken by the socialist part of the world to the problems of the future formulates new demands on the communists in the capitalist world. We must consider even more thoroughly the question of how to use in the struggle for the interests of our people the force of attraction of real socialism and the experience of the socialist community in resolving problems of universal significance, which life dictates on the eve of the third millennium.

Ever since the Great October Socialist Revolution, history has taught us that whenever the working class (or most of it) is in a state of upturn and upsurge, and when the solution of daily problems is closely related to that of problems of the future, the communists must comprehensively present their social views and indicate the ways for their implementation. This, however, is insufficient. At such times we must disseminate more actively than ever not only the ideal of socialism but its specific, its actual embodiments. Such was the case during the period of the November Revolution in Germany, in the 1920s and 1930s, when a significant part of the German working class, seeking a revolutionary solution to the capitalist crisis, turned its eyes to the first state of workers and peasants in history. Such was the case during World War II, when the heroic struggle waged by the Soviet peoples energized millions of people and greatly contributed to their joining the ranks of the antifascist resistance and the communist parties. Such was the case in 1945 and later, when it became a question of defining the postwar future and when the world socialist system was established. Such was also the case in the period of breakdown of the imperialist colonial system, when the liberated countries faced the choice of what direction to follow in the future. In a certain sense, such is the situation today, when the result of the new aggravation of social contradictions in the capitalist system, once again the search for a solution of daily problems is once again related to solving problems of the future.



The historical lessons and specific situation of our country urge us, communists in the Federal Republic, actively to disseminate the truth about real socialism. We are inspired to do this also by a most important event, such as the 27th Leninist Party Congress and the new edition of the CPSU program it adopted. This is efficiently assisted by the dynamic solution of problems of perfecting socialism in the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other socialist countries. The noticeable increase in the interest shown in our country to making comparisons between the two opposite social systems is no accidental phenomenon. It is determined by the course of the historical competition between the two systems and has become a structural component of the spiritual atmosphere of our age--the age of transition of the peoples from capitalism to socialism on a global scale.

#### Powerful Impetus of the New Society

On the occasion of "Real Socialism Week," modeled after the USSR, held in November 1985 in the FRG, during which more than 100 public activities were organized with the participation of representatives of the CPSU, our party published the book "Real Socialism: Peace and Social Progress." It reads: "Unquestionably, the recent decades in our century have marked the increased influence of socialism on global developments. Understandably, this influence is manifested in a variety of forms: groups of countries or social groups experience it in different degrees. Nevertheless, the influence of socialism is comprehensive and increasingly noticeable. This is recognized by friends and today, increasingly, by the opponents of the new society.... It is a question, on the one hand, on the direct influence of socialist society on trends, forms and pace of global developments, above all through the creation of the new social system. Socialism directly influences global developments also through its active international policy--a policy of uprooting war from social life, ensuring the peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems and supporting all forces of freedom and peace....

"On the other hand, it is a question of the indirect influence of socialist society on global developments. The force of example of socialism is the main conduit of such influence."

Indeed, the power of the example set by real socialism in having resolved or resolving many basic problems, pertaining not only to the peoples of the socialist countries but to our people as well, is a priceless weapon in communist hands. However, the possibility of using the power of the example does not mean emulating every detail of the experience of any given socialist country, for this would mean neglecting the features of our own struggle in our own country.

We follow Lenin, who wrote that "All nations will come to socialism. This is inevitable. However, not all of them will come to socialism in the same way.... There is nothing theoretically more wretched and practically more ridiculous than to depict 'for the sake of historical materialism' the future in this respect in the same grayish color..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 30, p 123).

Consequently, it is not a question of an antihistorical duplication of a given detail found in real socialism. It is a question of something much more basic: the clear understanding that socialism as a social system of a higher order makes it possible to resolve problems which capitalism cannot. To apply the force of the socialist example means, from our viewpoint, to prove to the working people that the ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin have already become or are becoming reality in the socialist countries. It is a question of promoting the newly developing world, a world without wars, exploitation and oppression; a new world in which the people make conscious use of the truly productive forces and do not allow their conversion into forces of destruction; a new world in which the peoples are given the opportunity to live in harmony with one another and with nature.

In other words, we believe that the accomplishments of real socialism must be used as an impetus in our struggle for our own demands. We believe that the power of the example of real socialism is the strong hand of international aid given to us. Ignoring it means depriving our own struggle for peace, democracy and social progress of a powerful motive force. Using the power of example set by real socialism serves our vital interests. That is precisely why we rebuff anyone who recommends to us to "distance ourselves" from the Soviet Union, the GDR and the socialist community.

The proper use of the examples set by real socialism in strengthening the combat position of the working class and all progressive forces must always be specific and differentiated, for real socialism exerts its influence differently depending on circumstances. In our country its influence is felt today above all in matters of the struggle for peace and in making radical social choices, such as war or peace, mass unemployment or full employment, social instability or social reliability, environmental destruction or protection, and fear of the future or historical optimism. Nor should we forget even for a minute that monopoly capital is making tremendous efforts to slander the experience and practices of socialism and to present its own system as "model." Furthermore, the class enemy still has significant material reserves with which to try, again and again, to prevent the development of crises and social antagonisms where it rules.

#### Socialism Shows the Way to Peace and Disarmament

As part of preparations for its 8th Congress, which will be held this May, our party is currently discussing a draft political and ideological document: the "New Problems of the Struggle For Peace and Work and for a Democratic Change" theses. They stipulate that "the struggle on the problem of war and peace is developing more dramatically today than ever before in history. The policy of confrontation and arms race pursued by the most reactionary imperialist forces threatens to lead the world to nuclear war. This threat is assuming an entirely new scale with the formulation of the U.S. "star wars" plans. The landmarks are currently being set: we shall either succeed in making a turn for the better, from confrontation and arms race to detente and disarmament, or else mankind will find itself on the brink of nuclear annihilation. The only acceptable way is halting the arms race on earth and preventing it from reaching outer space."

Under these dramatic circumstances, the members of the socialist community have frequently formulated of late in their joint documents important constructive suggestions aimed at eliminating the nuclear threat and taking a turn for the better in European and global affairs. They clearly indicated that the international community must make radical decisions now, which should contribute to improving the international situation and are of tremendous importance to the fate of all mankind. The main thing now is to lift from the peoples the threat of nuclear nightmare and prevent the militarization of outer space. This is the aim of the policy of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community. Their policy is one of dialogue and cooperation with anyone who takes the cause of peace seriously. Differences in political convictions and outlooks are no obstacle in this matter.

M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, convincingly proved to the entire world, in the course of his Geneva meeting with the U.S. President, that the socialist countries are doing everything possible to lower the current dangerous international tension and the threat of war and find mutually acceptable solutions aimed at halting the arms race and achieving real progress in disarmament. The 15 January 1986 CPSU Central Committee general secretary declaration, which presented Soviet proposals aimed at freeing the world from nuclear and chemical weapons before the end of this century, triggered tremendous interest in the FRG. The German Communist Party considers these peaceful proposals, developed and concretized by the 27th CPSU Congress, a new and exceptionally important initiative. The specific program for the elimination of all types of nuclear weapons while preventing the arms race in space is the correct, bold and necessary answer to the tremendous danger threatening mankind. This program opens a straight and clear path to a future without wars and weapons.

The proposal submitted by the Soviet Union are particularly consistent with the vital interests of the people of the FRG. As a country where the two systems meet, crowded with nuclear, chemical and conventional weapons, today the FRG finds itself in a situation in which it is threatened by annihilation in the case of military conflagration more than any other country. This dramatic situation is further worsened by the secret agreements concluded between Bonn and the United States on FRG participation in the sinister program for "star wars." These agreements were sharply condemned by the broadest possible public. Like all other nations, our nation could look hopefully at the future only if the new Soviet proposals are implemented. The fact that the constructive peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union is understood and improved by increasingly broader population circles in our country is of tremendous importance.

Obviously, a citizen of the Soviet Union could ask what is so special about the fact that the policy of the Soviet state is a policy of peace? Has our policy not been always peaceful, ever since the Decree on Peace was proclaimed in 1917? Yes, this is so. However, the ruling circles of the monopoly bourgeoisie and the political representatives of its interests have been able, to a considerable extent, in the different stages of contemporary history, to disseminate and support the version of the "menace from the East," and promote in the population fear of the Soviet Union. The same propaganda is still being used. However, in the 1970s, thanks to the beneficial influence of the

turn from cold war to detente, anti-Soviet hysteria lost much of its effectiveness. Meanwhile, in the FRG, the widespread euphoria concerning the United States and NATO and militant anti-Sovietism lost their former influence.

Unlike the cold war period, it is almost "normal" today not only for the communists but the other democratic forces in the FRG openly to refer to the Soviet suggestions concerning disarmament or else, without directly referring to the source of these initiatives, at least to indicate agreement with their content. Public opinion studies conducted in recent years quite clearly proved that the reputation of the USSR and its leaders, as true fighters for peace, has significantly strengthened in the FRG.

Here is one example: the results of a public opinion survey conducted in connection with the Geneva summit on the degree of popularity of the U.S. President and the CPSU general secretary among our population, proved clearly to be in favor of the latter (see STERN, No 49, 1985). In itself, this result is uncommon under West German conditions and considering the usual tendentiousness in interpreting the actions and statements of various government leaders by the mass propaganda media (television mainly) in our country. However, it is not merely and mainly a question of popularity. The essence of this phenomenon is that it reflects a trend of growing social recognition of the peace-loving nature of Soviet policy. That is why we can speak with full justification of the increased attractiveness of socialism, and not only of socialism as a social alternative, but of the policy of peace inherent in socialism, as the decisive, the main aspect of its social and class nature.

This example indicates how substantial has the help provided by the socialist community become in the struggle waged by the peace-loving forces in the capitalist countries. Socialism, headed by the Soviet Union, is curbing the forces of imperialist aggression and preventing them from starting a global nuclear conflagration not only thanks to its invincible power. The example of the socialist policy of peace itself is increasingly contributing to limiting the influence of the supporters of the arms race and confrontation among the masses. It is thus that real socialism is making an invaluable contribution to the struggle for peace in our country as well.

The policy of peace pursued by real socialism is imbued with the idea that there is no sensible alternative to peaceful coexistence and that the basic requirements of the nuclear age demand a new approach to problems of war and peace. Real socialism offers mankind new prospects. The members of the Warsaw Pact treaty show the way down which the development of trends mortally dangerous to mankind under contemporary international circumstances can be stopped and the necessary turn for the better made. An increasing number of the people in the West are beginning to realize this. Therefore, the most topical problem in the propaganda of socialism and, at the same time, the most important practical task in the struggle for peace is to make the broad toiling strata in our country aware of why socialism is the social system of peace.

## Socialism Combines Technical With Social Progress

In the draft theses for our 8th Party Congress we proceed from the fact that in connection with the crisis, mass unemployment and the antihuman use of science and technology by capitalism, not only the political and social struggle for jobs but the ideological confrontation regarding values, future jobs and the role of science and technology will become even more aggravated. We point out that "our country needs an alternate economic and social policy consistent with the interest of the working people and their aspiration for peace, jobs, social reliability and a clean environment. The struggle against mass unemployment and its consequences and the protection of existing and creation of new jobs are the most important tasks of this program."

These conclusions are closely related to promoting socialism, for the Soviet Union, the GDR and the other socialist countries prove to us that a life without unemployment or social need is possible for one and all. There is no unemployment in those countries, because they have no capitalists. The socialist states provide a clear example of how under the conditions of a planned economy public interests can be related to private interests and the social faults inherent in the capitalist system can be eliminated. Here politics and economics and science and technology go hand in hand with the purpose of increasingly satisfying the material, spiritual and cultural needs of the working people and the entire society.

The communists in the FRG disseminate this truth in their own country, the development of which is increasingly typified by the destructive influence of the capitalist crisis, on the one hand, and the high level of production forces, on the other. This is a country with millions of unemployed and poor people but where also (compared with the situation in other countries) a high per capita level of individual consumption is maintained. In a number of indicators, this country is ahead of the developed socialist countries in Europe. Under these circumstances, naturally, the defenders of the capitalist system try to concentrate debates on problems such as the extent of individual availability of cars, variety of goods in the stores and the extent of foreign travel, making them criteria for comparing social systems, thus proving the "superiority" of their system. With the help of such methods they are still able substantially to influence the masses.

Increasingly, however, life stands witness against capitalism. As the capitalist exploiting system, is displaying its inability to ensure the right to work and to prevent the appearance of "new poor," mainly among the millions of unemployed and retired, a line of development of a "truncated society," in which two-thirds of the population have adequate means and a certain percentage have even a high level of consumption, while the interests of the "lower third" of society are actually ignored, is becoming increasingly clear in the policy of the monopoly bourgeoisie. The fact that the U.S. and British political leaders, who are following the same line, have won noticeable electoral successes inspired the supporters of a merciless elimination of the social gains of the working people in our country as well. We must counter the propaganda of the savage capitalist laws by promoting the ideal of cohesion among working people and the example of real socialism, for this is an example of a social system which, although in some consumer areas still



below the present FRG level, does not allow precisely vast population groups to find themselves in a "social dead end" deprived of the possibility of satisfying even basic needs. It is an example of a social system which morally, from the viewpoint of the criteria of social justice, has truly outstripped for an entire historical age the capitalist society based on exploitation and gross injustice.

It is precisely now that we have all the necessary reasons persistently to emphasize the essential significance of the fact that the new social system--socialism--brings with it freedom from the exploitation of man by man. It must be clearly stated that socialism means eliminating the system of economic dependence of the worker on the owner of the means of production and, therefore, eliminating the alienation of labor. Socialism has already resolved the universal and historical task of the definitive liberation of the working people from unemployment and social uncertainty through the establishment of public ownership of means of production. The more socialist society will improve, the more dynamic will be its socioeconomic and scientific and technical development and the more energetically will the popular masses participate through their creative work in accelerating the progress of the new system. Such are precisely the tasks formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress and the congresses of the fraternal parties of the other members of the socialist community; and the greater, therefore, will be our possibilities of making efficient use of the example of socialism in the struggle for social progress in our own country.

Our draft theses stipulate the following: "We, communists, are in favor of scientific and technical progress, for it creates material prerequisites for improving working conditions and social development. To us the decisive criterion in rating new technologies and the growth of production forces in general is the extent to which they are consistent with the interests of the working people who are, themselves, the main productive force." On the one hand, the scientific and technical revolution "provides new opportunities for reducing working time, facilitating labor, giving it a creative nature and implementing stricter requirements concerning knowledge and culture, ensuring the more economical use of raw materials, preventing overloading the environment and eliminating hunger, disease and backwardness. On the other, the use of these opportunities requires a qualitatively new standard of scientific anticipation, planning and responsibility, as well as suitable measures aimed at ensuring social safety and social control on all levels. The mastery of new equipment is, essentially, not a technical but a social and a political problem. Our negative experience is explained not by the laws of development of production forces but the fact that capitalism uses the results of the scientific and technical revolution not for the benefit of the people but for increasing its profits."

Experience proves to the working people that the quicker technical progress develops the more important and urgent becomes the task of making social progress. New technology can create new jobs. Used in a capitalist way, however, it eliminates them. New technology could facilitate labor. Used in a capitalist fashion, however, it increases exploitation intensiveness. New technology can increase the well-being of the working people. Applied in a capitalist fashion, however, it turns many people into the "new poor."



One of the merits of socialism in its practical accomplishments is its contribution to the fact that already now many blue- and white-collar workers in our country, a significant percentage of the young generation above all, realize that scientific and technical and social progress could develop on a parallel basis and that under socialist conditions problems of efficiency, automation and robotics are solved in the interests humanizing and facilitating labor, i.e., for the good of man. Since this circumstance helps the working people to understand the nature of the current situation in the FRG, here as well it would be hard to overestimate the importance of the examples said by real socialism. However, although the systematically humane application of technical progress is possible under socialism, we nevertheless emphasize that the working class and the other democratic forces have a real possibility, under capitalist conditions as well, of at least limiting the scope of negative consequences of the development of science and technology. To this effect, the working class must pit its own strategy against the self-seeking technological policy of big capital. In this case the example of real socialism is invaluable.

### Socialism Offers a Reliable Future

Instability in virtually all areas of life is the determining feature of today's capitalist reality. Lack of confidence in the future can create a passive attitude and decadent moods and fears. However, it also releases the power of democratic counteraction. It triggers a broad and principle-minded debate on the future and its prospects and choices.

The big bourgeoisie and the right wing government in its service are concerned with the "declining hopes for the future" in the capitalist system. They know and are forced publicly to acknowledge that the survival of their social system depends on preserving the faith of the people in its "ability to ensure the future," and that its fate is related to "the hopes of and reliance on future prospects" (L. Spat, prime minister of Baden-Wurtemberg). Increasingly, social democrats, left-wing socialists and "Greens" are introducing in the public debate their own "new alternate models" and promoting a variety of "social utopias" on the nature of society in the year 2000. Interest in our own communist concepts of the future has increased as well. As a whole, the debate on the future covers not only the prospects of our country. A great deal of forecasts are being formulated on the nature of development of the United States and Japan and the extent to which the new scientific and technical and socioeconomic phenomena and trends in those countries will effect the FRG. Particularly noticeable is the increasing interest shown by our public in the situation in the socialist countries. The present development of the Soviet Union and the essential importance of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the stipulations of the Leninist party program aimed at the qualitative reorganization of all aspects of life in Soviet society and the radical renovation of its material and technical base in accordance with the latest achievements of the scientific and technical revolution are drawing very close attention. The same could be said of prospects of economic development in the GDR. This interest offers us, communists in the FRG, new opportunities for work among the masses.

We must most honestly say that the number of people in the capitalist FRG who are in favor of real socialism without any reservations remains small. However, the number of those who are seriously thinking of why is there mass unemployment "in the West," "new poor," "drug addiction," etc., whereas no such things at all exist "in the East" is increasing, and so is the number of those who ask themselves why is it that in such a rich and developed country as the FRG there are no conditions for every young person to acquire an education and a skill, something which is considered natural in the socialist countries. Such questions and thoughts do not, in the majority of cases, still make the people draw final conclusions. In their majority, however, the working people intuitively feel that an inseparable link exists between economic stability and social reliability, on the one hand, and the power of the working class and a socialist plan economy, on the other. In general, the process of finding the truth and thinking about it has begun and will continue.

Let us point out that this is an exceptionally complex process. Even people who are sympathetic to socialism do not consider exclusively the positive aspects, the achievements of socialism. They closely watch its struggle aimed at surmounting unresolved problems and negative phenomena, for the sake of perfecting socialist society. They are interested in specific steps taken to upgrade the living standards, the further development of socialist democracy and the protection of the environment. They ask questions about the actual participation of the working people in making policy and the possibility of "bringing to light individuality" under socialist conditions. They do not conceal in this case their doubts and reservations, largely related to the scarcity of objective information about the socialist countries in the FRG. Nevertheless, the debates underway here indicate that the existence of an alternate social system--socialism--is having a strong, a captivating influence also among those who are still burdened by a number of anti-communist prejudices, for even among them many are those who are critical of the crises in the capitalist system and are seeking sensible alternatives.

The implementation of the doctrine of Marx, Engels and Lenin in the socialist community is helping to popularize in the FRG ideas aimed at social change and developing a growing interest in Marxism, particularly among the young generation, and the desire to learn about and understand real socialism.

We, communists, see with satisfaction that a new attitude toward the countries of real socialism is developing within our labor movement. This is confirmed by the positive development of relations between the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the communist parties in the socialist countries. This is also confirmed by the desire of a growing number of trade union delegations from the FRG to gain on-site information about socialism. All of this indicates a changed attitude on the part of many members of FRG trade unions toward the Soviet Union.

A tremendous ideological and positive plus against the background of the intensifying debate about the future for us, communists in countries within the capitalist system, is the fact that today socialism is not merely an ideal but a developing reality. Socialism is no longer a speculative prospect for a distant future but a real example, an insurmountable fact which directly influences the course of our current struggle for the daily vital social and political interest of the toiling masses.

Whether the people realize it or not, the following is irrefutable: the existence and successful development of the countries of real socialism has a positive influence on the combat positions of the working class and all progressive forces in the capitalist countries, including the FRG. The more energetically and successfully real socialism advances, the more favorable become the conditions for curbing the forces of militarism and war and strengthening peace.

In the course of our explanatory work related to problems of real socialism, we, FRG communists, try to prove to the working class and all progressive forces the direct advantages resulting from the existence of the example set by the socialist countries, for in all cases in which the working people have won concessions, rights and reforms in the course of their struggle, the fear of the big bourgeoisie of the contagious example of the socialist countries has played a role. That is why we inspire the working class to make use of the achievements of real socialism in the struggle for its own interest.

As in other political areas, in the dissemination of socialism we set problems the solution of which is possible in accordance with our correlation of class forces and level of social consciousness. However, we are looking ahead as well. Based on historical experience, we know the power that is generated when the working class and the democratic circles realize the nature of the contemporary age and the significance of real socialism to their own future. We do not forget even for a minute that opening the way to a socialist future in our country will be closely related to the increased attractiveness of socialism.

We, FRG communists, believe that the further strengthening of the world socialist system, the implementation of the party program adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress, and the implementation of the extensive plans for economic and social development formulated by the CPSU, the SED and the other fraternal parties in the socialist countries, are an inseparable factor in the further strengthening of the combat positions of our party and the entire FRG labor movement, giving us new arguments in favor of the advantages of the socialist system and a new impetus in the struggle for social progress in our own country.

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# ANTICOMMUNISM IN U.S. 'NEOGLOBALIST' DOCTRINE

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[Article by V. Bushuyev, candidate of historical sciences]

[Text] One of the basic features of our time is the increased role of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries in the progressive process of social development. The events which developed between the end of the 1970s and first half of the 1980s convincingly prove that despite the tremendous variety of internal conditions, opposition to the imperialist policy of diktat has become energized and the struggle for making crucial socioeconomic changes and for the democratization of social life is intensifying in the overwhelming majority of these countries.

The aspiration to strengthen their independence, put an end to the domination of foreign monopolies and find ways of surmounting economic and cultural backwardness is becoming one of the typical features of the domestic political situation of many countries in Asia, Africa, Oceania and the Caribbean basin, which freed themselves from colonial bondage in recent decades. "The noncapitalist way of development and the path of socialist orientation, which were chosen by a number of liberated countries, offer extensive opportunities for social progress," the new edition of the CPSU program notes. "Their experience proves that under contemporary conditions and with the existing correlation of forces in the world, the possibilities of previously enslaved peoples to reject capitalism and to build their future without exploiters and in the interest of the working people, have increased. This is a phenomenon of major historical significance."

The anti-imperialist, revolutionary-democratic movements are also increasing in Latin American countries which acquired their political independence more than 150 years ago, but who remain to this day in the clutches of economic dependence on imperialism. Profound revolutionary changes have ripened in that part of the world. The level of maturity of capitalism in Latin America, significant when compared with many countries in Asia and Africa, the existence of a relatively large, organized and politically conscious working class and the combat activities of its Marxist-Leninist vanguard are contributing to the fact that the anti-imperialist and democratic tasks of the revolutionary movement are most closely interwoven here with social tasks,

while the struggle for democratization and independent political and economic development is increasingly merging with the class struggle waged by the proletariat.

As was noted in the CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress, "A slow, difficult yet unstoppable process of socioeconomic change is taking place in the life of the nations which account for the majority of mankind." The revolution in Ethiopia won; the Portuguese colonial empire collapsed; an end was put to the racist regime in Zimbabwe and new countries with a progressive orientation appeared in Africa. The April 1978 revolution in Afghanistan offered the people's masses possibilities of socioeconomic progress. The fall of the shah's regime in Iran was a major imperialist defeat. The overthrow of the bloody Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua was an important victory for the forces of democracy and progress. A persistent struggle against the Israeli aggressors and their American protectors and against separate deals hostile to the interests of the Arabs, was mounted by the national patriotic forces in the Arab countries.

The young countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America increasingly developed in the world arena as sovereign and equal members of the international community. The positive contribution of the liberated countries, particularly within the nonalignment movement, in the formulation and solution of global problems, above all in the struggle for the prevention of nuclear war, increased. The demands formulated by Afro-Asian and Latin American countries for a radical reorganization of international economic relations on a just democratic basis, supported by the socialist community, were energized and their struggle for developing and strengthening their independent national economies and against the predatory activities of multinational corporations intensified; the ties of friendship and equal cooperation with world socialism were strengthened.

As was the case in the past as well, the strengthening of the forces of peace, democracy, and social progress, and the upsurge of liberation and revolutionary movements is paralleled by the energizing of reactionary forces. Imperialism is trying to mount a counteroffensive and to avenge its defeats.

Obviously believing that the national liberation movement is the weakest link in the global revolutionary process, international reaction is trying to "intercept" revolutions in its former colonies and semicolonies, to obstruct their progressive changes, to regain the positions it lost in a number of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries and to weaken their tremendous anti-imperialist potential in the struggle for economic emancipation. Imperialism is trying to tie more closely to itself these countries in order to use more freely their richest possible raw material and energy resources, the exploitation of which increasingly determines the normal functioning of the U.S. economy and that of other developed capitalist countries, and to use their territories for their strategic purposes. For many decades neocolonialist policy has been the main form of subordination and exploitation of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries and undermining their sovereignty by imperialism. Although formally acknowledging the independence of countries free from colonial domination, the imperialist countries actually try to strengthen within them important elements of the bankrupt system of oppression



and to adapt their development to the interests and needs of the multinational corporations operating in those countries. In this case, two interrelated objectives are formulated: first, to secure the use of sources of raw materials, areas of capital investments and markets; second, to keep former colonies and semicolonies within the orbit of global capitalism and to prevent their conversion to progressive socioeconomic development with a socialist orientation. In pursuing these objectives, the imperialists use methods of military pressure and economic diktat, support reaction, promote regional conflicts and speculate on the food difficulties and technological dependence of the liberated countries and their unequal status in the global capitalist economy. One of the important channels for the exploitation of these countries by imperialism, American above all, is the huge indebtedness of countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America to industrially developed capitalist countries. "The consequences of this are tragic," the 27th CPSU Congress noted. "The developing countries with their more than 2 billion population, have become a virtually total poverty area."

We are familiar with Lenin's stipulation that foreign nations oppressed by the imperialist powers "will be one of the sources for the artificial delay in the fall of capitalism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 30, p 40). It is entirely obvious that the fate of capitalism as a social system greatly depends on the future development of the countries freed from colonial and semi-colonial bondage. That is why the class meaning of the new colonialism, in all the various forms of its manifestation--economic, ideological-political and military--consists, above all, of the attempt to delay or even turn back the social progress of mankind. International reaction is making great efforts to promote the ideological disarming of revolutionary forces in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, and to stupefy the world public with the poison of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. In his time, Lenin described swindling the people's masses for the sake of justifying and defending the oppression of nations as one of the characteristic features of the imperialist age (see op. cit., vol 27, p 63). In our days the "great lie" of anti-communism is the truly worldwide policy of the imperialist countries and the most popular ideological and political weapon in the arsenal of means in the struggle waged by international reaction against world socialism and the liberation movements.

At the beginning of the 1980s the ruling U.S. circles, worried by the growth of progressive and revolutionary changes in the world, took a sharp turn toward intensifying tension and the arms race and confrontation with the socialist community, as well as waging a fierce struggle against the national liberation forces. The capitalist world has not abandoned the ideology and politics of hegemonism. Its rulers are still hoping for social revenge and continuing to nurture illusions of power superiority.

The choice made in favor of a policy of diktat and arbitrariness, open adventurism and militarism and trampling the sovereign rights of countries and peoples is based, above all, on the stubborn refusal of the U.S. right-wing monopoly bourgeoisie to acknowledge the radical changes which have taken place in the world and to adapt itself to the new realities of the age. The reactionary circles in power are demonstrating their obvious inability to answer the historical challenge of socialism and to formulate any kind of



positive and realistic development program for the future. These circles consider as the only possibility of hindering the offensive of contemporary revolutionary forces, on the one hand, and of easing some of the tremendous difficulties experienced by the capitalist system (periodically worsening economic crises, inflation, steady increase in the army of unemployed, etc.), on the other, increasing the pace of the arms race, the display of power and combativeness and efforts to help the United States regain its lost leading position in the world. To this purpose all opportunities are used to encourage anti-Soviet hysteria, justify large-scale preparations for war and pursue an interventionist counterrevolutionary course in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

"The more the course of historical development undermines the positions of imperialism," the new edition of the CPSU program stipulates, "the more hostile to the interests of the peoples becomes the policy of its most reactionary forces. Imperialism is fiercely opposing social progress. It is trying to stop the course of history, undermine the positions of socialism and take social revenge on a global scale."

In order to avenge the defeats suffered by imperialism in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries and to establish total control over all aspects of their further development, the present White House administration has proclaimed a new doctrine. It substantiates the efforts of the most reactionary militaristic circles of Washington's ruling upper crust, permitting the American multinational corporations and the military-industrial complex, to assume, under the hypocritical pretext of "self-defense" of the United States, and the protection of "democracy" and "values of civilization," a certain "right" to engage in massive interference in the affairs of other countries, the countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America above all, and to use its own discretion as to which of their governments are "legitimate" or "illegitimate" and who will be kindly allowed by the White House to remain in power or will be overthrown. The "doctrine of neoglobalism" grants the United States "the right" to resort toward such countries to threats, blackmail and pressure, to support all kind of subversive and terrorist groups operating under the control of the imperialist special services, and to make use of American armed forces to overthrow progressive systems. In violation of universal standards of international law, unilaterally Washington proclaims virtually entire areas on earth as areas of defense of U.S. "vitally important" interests and officially proclaims its intention to impose the American order throughout the world as being the almost exclusively possible and even mandatory one. "The essence of the 'doctrine of neoglobalism,'" M.S. Gorbachev pointed out, "means total scorn for universally acknowledged standards of international relations, violations of governmental sovereignty and the same old hopeless effort to deprive the people of the right to build their own life as they wish." In other words, the hastily developed "doctrine of neoglobalism" is nothing new. It is no more than the attempted return to the old system of robbery.

The efforts to retain the largest possible number of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries within the orbit of its domination and to perpetuate or restore in them the system of neocolonial oppression are concealed by imperialism behind stupid fabrications concerning the so-called "Soviet menace," proclaiming such countries the "zone of confrontation" with communism

and "international terrorism." Any sociopolitical problem and conflict, however complex and different, is considered by Washington from the angle of the "Soviet threat" and the global confrontation between East and West. The objective factors which actually determine the growth of the revolutionary movement--economic backwardness, poverty, the rightlessness of the masses, the arbitrariness of the ruling classes and the destructive influence of the deepening general crisis in capitalism--are deliberately ignored.

Soon after Reagan administration accession to power, its leading representatives proclaimed that one of the main trends in American policy will be the struggle against "international terrorism." This problem was to replace the pharisaic "defense of human rights" of the previous administration. A sacrilegious attempt was made by U.S. officials and propaganda services to instill in the masses the idea that terrorist activities, condemned by the entire world, and the legitimate struggle of nations for political and economic self-determination and against American diktat, were one and the same. At the same time, Washington began to present the imperialist policy based on oppression, unwillingness to accept Washington's right to organize the internal affairs of countries as it wishes, and its rejection of world reality and of occurring sociopolitical changes, as struggle against terrorism.

The efforts to reduce the exceptionally varied revolutionary and liberation movement throughout the world, different in terms of form and content, and the acts of protests against repressions, high living costs, unemployment and racial and national discrimination, and the struggle waged by millions of people in various parts of the earth for their elementary rights to "international terrorism" and communist "intrigues" confirm clearly and convincingly the striking helplessness of imperialist politicians and ideologues. It is entirely clear to any sensible person, who has taken the trouble to study Marxist-Leninist theory and the history of the international communist movement, that the communists have always been and remain the basic enemies of the "theory" and practice of terrorism. Terrorism, and the artificial "urging on" of revolutions are organically alien to Marxist-Leninist outlook and to the policies of the Soviet Union and the members of the socialist community.

It is not the Soviet Union, the national liberation forces or the international communist movement who are responsible for terrorist actions in the world, for the cult of power promoted by the bourgeois mass information media and for the suffering, catastrophes and rightlessness of hundreds of millions of people. Arbitrary behavior, violence and terrorism are caused in the international arena by imperialist policy, which violates the legitimate rights and interests of sovereign countries and promotes the ideology of racial and national hatred, keeping in power at bayonet point reactionary and terrorist dictatorships in a number of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries, intensifying the atmosphere of military psychosis and urging on the arms race in the world.

Equally old also are fabrications of the "Soviet military menace," the "export of revolution" and "expansionism" of the Soviet Union. The efforts to use them to discredit global socialism, the international working class and

the national liberation movement were initiated from the very first years of existence of the land of the soviets. The purpose of the current efforts in reviving such myths is, first of all, to draw the attention of the peoples away from the true military threat concealed within the policy of militarization and unrestrained arms race pursued by the U.S. military-industrial complex and the NATO military. Secondly, the purpose of the lie concerning the "export of revolution" is to prove the virtual "eternity" and inviolability of capitalism and to convince public opinion that in all of its development stages the threat to the bourgeois system comes exclusively from the outside, from some kind of communist and "terrorist" "conspiracies" and "subversive activities," rather than from its own insoluble internal contradictions, and that it is not based on purely internal factors. From the communist viewpoint, "export of revolution" is nonsense. It is impossible, for any socialist revolution can develop only on the grounds of objective requirements of individual countries and no one can artificially introduce it or impose it from the outside.

In accordance with the anti-communist "crusade" which was proclaimed in June 1982 and the appeal to dump Marxism-Leninism on the "ash-heap of history," the U.S. propaganda services mounted an ideological offensive of unprecedented scale. In order to compromise and blacken the ideals of scientific socialism and socialist reality and the course charted by the CPSU and the Soviet state in the international arena and to justify the imperialist policy of exporting counterrevolution, a muddy flood of fabrications, slanders and forgeries was hurled at the socialist countries and democratic, liberation and antiwar movements. In terms of intensiveness, content and methods, the "psychological warfare" mounted by Washington with the help of a powerful propaganda machine and the latest technical facilities, has become one of the varieties of aggression aimed at the sovereignty of other countries.

The course charted by the American administration of fanning militant anti-communism was clearly manifested in its efforts to maintain the already existing "hot spots" on earth and to create new dangerous hotbeds of tension. Facts irrefutably confirm that regional conflicts, the appearance of which Washington tries to present as the result of some kind of "involvement" of the USSR, are actually triggered by the purposeful policy of aggression and interference in the internal affairs of individual countries, deliberately pursued by the White House, and are structural components of the global strategy of social revenge. Ignoring the will of sovereign nations, the new edition of the CPSU program reads, imperialism "tries to deprive them of the right to chose their own path of development and threatens their security. This is the main reason for the outbreak of conflicts in various parts of the world." The Soviet Union, which systematically encourages the settlement of regional conflicts, has formulated a broad set of constructive proposals to stabilize the situation in the world. However, the USSR will never agree with those who, under the hypocritical pretext of "settling regional conflicts" try to legalize the economic enslavement of Afro-Asian and Latin American countries or draw the attention of the world public away from the imperialist policy of exporting counterrevolution to such countries or else avoid answering the main question which concerns mankind today: how to prevent a slide toward the precipice of nuclear war. It is entirely clear that without American interference in the affairs of other countries regional conflicts

would have declined and would have been solved much more simply and equitably. However, as experience in Central America, the Middle East and South Africa proves, the United States itself is constantly defeating any attempt at achieving a peaceful settlement of regional conflicts through talks, taking into consideration legitimate interests and showing total respect for the sovereignty of all countries and peoples, instead continuing to rely exclusively on power pressure, imperial ultimata and diktat.

"Stress and conflicts in various areas and even wars between different countries in one part of the world or another are rooted in the past and in present socioeconomic conditions prevailing in these countries and areas," M.S. Gorbachev said at the Geneva press conference. "To present matters as though all of these conflicts are triggered by East-West rivalry is not only erroneous but extremely dangerous."

El Salvador was declared by the Washington administration to be the target of this "rivalry," and the first battlefield in the global combat against international terrorism and communism." A struggle had been mounted in that country by the people's masses despairing at the repressive oligarchic regimes, which had replaced one-another for decades, and their imperialist patrons. In an effort to give a semblance of legality to its interference in the civil war in El Salvador, Washington fabricated the fiction of deliveries of Soviet weapons to the Salvadoran rebels and the involvement in the upsurge of the revolution in that country of the Nicaraguan Sandinista government.

In order to rescue the corrupt regime from collapse, the United States sent Pentagon "instructors" to El Salvador. It is providing huge financial and military aid to that country and is threatening to intervene "in the case of exceptional circumstances." Honduras has been a bridgehead of aggression against neighboring Nicaragua since 1981. Here thousands of remaining Somoza supporters are being trained by CIA instructors. It is from here that the "Contras" mount attacks on Nicaraguan soil, spreading death and destruction, terrorizing the local population and doing everything possible to wreck the plans for peaceful economic development, and to promote chaos in the country. The United States hopes to force the Nicaraguan government to abandon the revolutionary process and break friendly relations with the members of the socialist community through the use of military and political blackmail and economic sanctions. The United States, which is allocating huge funds to finance the criminal activities of the "Contra" gangs and to provoke conflicts between Nicaragua and its neighbors, is increasingly relying on direct armed intervention against that sovereign state.

In October 1983, under the fictitious pretext of "protecting the lives" of U.S. citizens, American forces invaded Grenada, harshly dealing with revolutionary patriotic forces and installing in power a puppet regime. Inspired by this shameful "victory" over the people of a tiny helpless Caribbean island, the imperialist militaristic circles got the false idea that they can gain social revenge with impunity in other parts of the world as well and turn the clock of history back.

With a view to establishing U.S. strategic domination in the Middle East and to legitimize the American armed forces deployed in that area, the United



States began to make even more active use of the Israeli aggression against Lebanon and to strengthen the American-Israeli alliance further. Making use of any pretext to increase the military psychosis in Lebanon, the United States is trying to frighten the other peoples in the Middle East, force them to surrender to Israel and establish its complete hegemony in the area. Making slanderous accusations of "terrorism," the American administration is resorting to aggressive actions against Libya. The gangsterly raid by the U.S. Air Force on Libyan cities was an act of crying mockery of international law and universal morality. Pakistan, from the territory of which for a number of years American special services have been directing the activities of counterrevolutionary gangs waging undeclared war against Afghanistan, has become a military strategic bridgehead of American imperialism in South Asia.

Thailand is used as a center for armed provocations against Cambodia. Here Pol Pot murderers and other Khmer reactionaries, who owe their existence to direct U.S. aid and support, have entrenched themselves along Thailand's border areas. The racist regime in South Africa is being encouraged to engage in bloody terrorism against the black majority of the population within the country and to commit acts of aggression against Angola, Mozambique and other independent countries in the southern part of Africa and preserve its colonial domination of Namibia. A special 300,000-strong army--"the rapid deployment force"--was set up for purposes of armed intervention abroad. The scale of CIA "covert operations" has expanded drastically.

As Gus Hall, U.S. Communist Party secretary general pointed out, exporting counterrevolution has become the foundation of the foreign policy of the present Washington administration.

The practice of social development convincingly proves that the ruling classes will never surrender their power without fierce resistance which occasionally take most unexpected forms, and without that which Engels quite accurately described as "rebellion in the defense of slavery" (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 23, p 34). In an effort to regain its lost positions, put an end to the social gains of the working people and eliminate revolutionary changes, the example of which may prove to be contagious to other countries, as history proves, the reaction is not reluctant to reject its own bourgeois principles, electoral results or legal or moral obstacles. As Lenin wrote, it is ready to commit "all sorts of savageries, atrocities and crimes to defend the doomed capitalist slavery" (op. cit., vol 23, p 166).

Naturally, imperialist reaction would have never been able to implement its antipeople and counterrevolutionary policy had it openly proclaimed as its objective the restoration of the social order rejected by the masses and of the "paradise" of the exploiters, taken away from them by the impoverished classes. In order to conceal the true meaning of their intentions, dull the vigilance of the peoples and disorient and spiritually disarm them, imperialism is creating an entire system of ideological myths. Anti-communism and anti-Sovietism are the core of the ideological and political myths created by international reaction.

The promotion of anti-communism in the liberated countries is aimed at creating within them the type of ideological and political conditions which

would hinder the rapprochement between the national liberation movement and the world of real socialism and the international working class, and would help to retain the dependence of these countries on imperialism. Using the ignorance and prejudices of the people, and intensifying the atmosphere of fear and mass psychosis regarding the imaginary "Soviet threat," the inspirers of anti-communist campaigns tried to prevent the growth of the political consciousness of the masses and the strengthening of their anti-imperialist unity and thus to hinder the global revolutionary process and justify the "rebellions in defense of slavery" organized by the imperialist special services.

Lenin pointed out that "fearing the growing and strengthening proletariat, the bourgeoisie supports everything that is backward, dying and medieval" (ibid.). It is precisely anti-communism, as the combination of ideological, political, economic and other means of struggle against the international revolutionary movement, that embodies what is backward, dying and rejected by the peoples, what is the essence of the historically obsolete bourgeois social system; it acts as the main tool for achieving the neocolonialist objectives of imperialism. Under the banners of anti-communism, the views and political practices of the most reactionary circles of the monopoly bourgeoisie draw closer to the ideology and politics of the forces which are the social support of neocolonialism: the feudal-land-owning oligarchy and the pro-imperialist wing of the bourgeoisie in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

Despite numerous and shameful failures of imperialist anti-communist strategy in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, naturally, it would be premature to draw the conclusion that anti-communism has lost grounds in those countries once and for all. The mixed economy, remaining economic and financial dependence on imperialism, prejudices and durable mental stereotypes shared by a rather significant percentage of backward and politically inert population strata, the sometimes strong influence of religion and the intensive propaganda offensive mounted by international reaction, using its frequently monopolistic domination of the mass information media in a number of countries, and its efforts to manipulate the mass consciousness cannot fail, naturally, to delay the uprooting of anti-communist obscurantism, which imperialism actively uses to its own advantage.

Since the time of the victory of the Great October Revolution, aggressive anti-communism, and reliance on military force as the main argument in the historical dispute with socialism, remain intrinsic elements of the foreign policy of U.S. imperialism. However, never has Washington relied so openly in its anti-communist strategy on its demonstrative scorn of international law and extensive use of state terrorism as it has in recent years. Efforts to find an ideological substantiation for the anti-communist and anti-Soviet course and to justify the policy of the arms race and export of counterrevolution have assumed the shape of a malicious slanderous campaign, accompanied by unparalleled hypocrisy and cynicism.

The false anti-communist propaganda campaign, which was mounted on a global scale, was baptized by Washington with a sense of refined mockery "Operation Truth," while the creation of a "fifth column," and mounting secret operations aimed at increasing interference in the affairs of sovereign countries, who



are rejecting the U.S. diktat, was described as a "program for democracy." American marines, who not so long ago were drowning Lebanon in blood, became "Peace Forces." The ultimata addressed to the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, calling for its unconditional surrender to the gangs of mercenaries, recruited and armed by the CIA, and the economic and trade sanctions imposed by the United States against that country are described in Washington's language as a "peace plan." The U.S. militaristic circles, who have raised armed banditry to the level of state policy, have given themselves the right to make "preemptive strikes" against any country in the world where, in their own judgment, they consider the situation "threatening to U.S. interests."

Of late Washington has not missed an opportunity publicly to confirm the U.S. intention to energize its interference in the affairs of other countries in order to suppress revolutionary and liberation movements. The policy of social revenge is pharisaically presented as the performance of some kind of "moral duty" by the United States "to defend freedom and democracy and to spread these ideals everywhere."

In trying to justify the fact that, using gangs of mercenaries, the United States is waging undeclared wars on Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola and Cambodia, promoting separatist movements and religious and communal quarrels in a number of Afro-Asian countries and supporting extreme-right-wing and terrorist groups throughout Latin America, the members of the ruling American elite are citing United Nation and Organization of American States charters which, they claim, "confirm the inalienable right to individual and collective self-defense from aggression." In other words, the desire of the peoples of Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia and other countries to lead a peaceful democratic life, obvious to everyone on earth, and to be left alone by the imperialist forces and given the opportunity to settle their internal affairs as they choose, is cynically proclaimed "aggression" threatening U.S. interests. Meanwhile, it is suggested that the entirely realistic armed aggression, which is taking the lives of tens of thousands of peaceful citizens of these countries, today openly directed and financed by the United States, is to be considered "legitimate" struggle for "democracy" and sacrilegious attempts are even being made to justify it by quoting the charters of international organizations.

"There should be no doubt as to where our sympathies lie," noted leaders of the American administration announced. Actually, they leave no doubts in this case by loudly proclaiming the Nicaraguan "Contras" to be their "brothers" (whom Tip O'Neil, the speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, unhesitatingly described as butchers and bigots), the Afghan bandits, the Khmer revolutionary riff-raff, and the UNITA thugs in Angola.

Increasingly fewer are politically naive people in the world who fail to realize that the bloody antipeople tyrannies in all Afro-Asian and Latin American countries dependent upon imperialism, have existed and continue to exist essentially with Washington's support. The American "defenders of democracy" prepared and carried out a proimperialist coup d'etat in Iran in 1953 and through intervention overthrew the legitimate Guatemalan government in 1954. In 1961 the CIA organized the landing of its mercenaries in Cuba,

which failed ignominiously; in 1965 U.S. marines suppressed the democratic movement in the Dominican Republic. In the 1960s and 1970s Washington's "disseminators of the ideals of democracy" could be credited with destabilizing and overthrowing legitimately elected governments in Ecuador, Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil, and organizing military coups in Uruguay and Chile. They are responsible for the current active support of dictatorial regimes in Chile, Paraguay, South Korea and Pakistan, with efforts to keep in power Duvalier's accomplices in Haiti, the mass killings of democrats and patriots in El Salvador, and the blood shed by the peoples of Lebanon and Chad, where the CIA is constantly pouring oil on the fire of internal contradictions, and for helping the racist authorities in South Africa.

According to Washington's prevailing views, however repressive and hated by the people's masses a reactionary or puppet regime may be, as long as it proclaims blind and militant anti-communism and, from time to time, engages in electoral farces under the barrels of machine guns, it is automatically classified as defender of "democracy and freedom," and potential victim of "international terrorism," allegedly directed by Moscow. Any forces opposing it, even though most moderate, are immediately qualified as communists and "terrorists," allegedly representing a mortal threat to "Western civilization" and to the principles of "democracy and freedom." The solidarity shown by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries with the struggle waged by the forces of democracy and national liberation is presented by the Washington leadership and by imperialist propaganda as "support of terrorist organizations." Therefore, essentially the present doctrine of social revenge and piracy, proclaimed by the reactionary wing of the ruling U.S. leadership, is nothing other than the internationalized variant of McCarthyism, based on promoting global military and anti-communist hysteria and political and ideological terrorism.

Hoping with the help of hypocritical statements of support of some kind of "democratic revolution" in the world to restructure to its own liking the truly democratic slogans and concepts of the fighters against imperialist oppression and turn them upside-down to justify their interventionist and neocolonialist course, the U.S. militaristic circles are trying by this token to lay a kind of "theoretical foundation," under the "crusade" against the real forces of revolution, social progress and national liberation and against countries and nations which have taken or are taking the path of free and independent development. What follows from the statements by noted leaders in the present American administrations is that under the banner of protecting "democratic values and freedoms," Washington is openly aspiring to the role of ideological inspiration and leader of the entire international counterrevolution, holding on to the illusive hopes of restoring the socioeconomic and political order rejected by the peoples of the socialist states and countries with progressive orientation in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Unequivocal readiness is expressed to support even the most hated regimes, terrorist groups and armed bandit formations who are willing to cooperate with imperialism in suppressing progressive forces and liberation movements on all continents. The leaders of the present administration, who are not concealing the true reasons motivating Washington, frankly state that should all of these notorious "fighters for freedom" be defeated, the countries in which they are promoting counterrevolution through terrorism and

violence will be lost to the United States forever, as the result of which, they claim, American "global interests" will suffer.

Having openly adopted terrorism as a means of attaining political objectives, while publicly proclaiming an almost "holy war" on terrorism, the influential circles in the U.S. ruling class are not simply acknowledging their pharisaic hypocritical nature. They are also showing their fear and helplessness in the face of the social changes taking place in the world and at the energizing of the struggle waged by the oppressed masses. Any progressive and revolutionary change, wherever it may happen in the world--Central America, Africa or Asia--is considered by Washington a mortal threat to the United States and a subversion of its global leadership and, in the final account, a weakening of the positions of capitalism as a system.

Washington's current "neoglobalist" course has no future, being largely circumstantial, related to the immediate needs of the aggressive imperialist circles to react to the increasingly narrowing realm of their domination in the world. Despite all the difficulties created by efforts to export counterrevolution to the forward development of the national liberation movement, the process of progressive changes in the world goes on. Nothing and no one can void the objective laws of global development.

Imperialism, which is encountering increasingly crucial problems, is trying to find a solution through militarization and attacks on the social gains on the working people. This can only aggravate its crisis. Unable to resolve its own contradictions, to meet the growing needs of the masses, to give them confidence in the future and really to guarantee freedom and democracy, imperialism is displaying its total inability of pitting anything against socialism in the ideological area as well. Imperialist ideology and propaganda have nothing to offer the peoples masses, including those in the Afro-Asian and Latin American countries. As George Kennan, one of the leading U.S. bourgeois ideologues, has pointed out, "There is nothing we can teach the world. We must admit that we have no answers to the problems of mankind in this age."

The correlation of forces in the international arena continues to change in favor of peace, democracy and social progress. The power of the world socialist community--the natural and reliable ally of the liberation movement--is increasing. The forces of national liberation and revolutionary democracy themselves are becoming increasingly mature ideologically and politically. Capitalism, which is being established in a number of liberated countries, is inevitably assuming distorted forms of dependence, intensifying economic crises and leading to growing social differentiation and aggravation of the conflict between democratic forces and imperialism and domestic reaction. Contradictions between imperialism and the peoples of Latin America, including bourgeois strata not directly related to the multinational corporations, are steadily worsening. Washington's policy of state terrorism is encountering the opposition of even the closest allies of the United States, who miss no opportunity to squeeze their American competitors out in Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

Naturally, the course of revolutionary changes in the world has never been nor could be simple and direct. Ruts, twists and even retreats are possible in the course of its development. To a certain extent, reactionary counterattacks supported from the outside and the policy of imperialist intervention can, to a certain extent, influence the pace and features of development of this process and even, in a number of cases, lead to the temporary triumph of reactionary forces, as was the case, for example, in Chile and Grenada. However, declines in the revolutionary movement and temporary defeats of progressive forces change nothing in the general trend of global social development and are unable to stop the struggle of the peoples for freedom and for a socialist renovation of life. The future belongs to the revolution and not to the counterrevolution.

However, the absences of historical prospects in capitalism not only indicates the ideological and theoretical helplessness of the monopoly bourgeoisie but also represents a great practical danger to the fate of civilization on earth. "A system without a future," M.S. Gorbachev noted, "values neither the past nor the present. This precisely is the source of imperialist adventuristic policy." Relying in its thoughtless line pursued in international affairs on the military solution of the historical dispute between the two social systems, and threatening with physical force the forces of democracy, progress and national liberation, Washington's ruling elite is pitting its imperial ambitions and selfish interests against the vital interests of all nations. Any imperialist attempts aimed at suppressing the revolutionary process by force and depriving the peoples of the right to self-determination are profoundly hostile to the future of mankind and conceal a major threat to peace and international security.

The crisis which is experienced by anticommunism throughout the world does not mean in the least that its danger to the peoples has been reduced. Furthermore, the use of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism by the reactionary upper crust of the U.S. ruling class as tools for achieving their hegemonistic and neocolonialist aspirations sharply increases this danger, threatening the fate of all mankind. One of the most important tasks of the progressive and democratic forces on earth is to oppose this threat and to struggle against the imperialist policy of state terrorism and social revenge.

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IMPUDENT CHALLENGE: AN OBSERVER'S COMMENTS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 86 (signed to press 16 Apr 86) pp 123-125

[Commentary by V. Nekrasov, 16 April]

[Text] The world is experiencing a worrisome period. The U.S. armed attack on Libya drastically aggravated the situation in the Southern Mediterranean, creating a real threat to universal peace. Added to other of Washington's recent international activities, this open aggression against a sovereign state, which violates universal standards of behavior by a government and with the United Nations Charter, has clearly confirmed that the leadership across the ocean has clearly lost a realistic sense of orientation in the current complex period in history.

On two occasions within a few days, on 11 and 15 April, the Soviet government was forced to issue declarations on the subject of the actions of the U.S. administration. Governmental declarations of this kind, as we know, are a major foreign policy act, consistent with the circumstances which make them necessary. The publication of two such documents consecutively in itself confirms the seriousness with which the Soviet Union views the situation.

In its 15 April statement, the Soviet government characterized the unprovoked attack on Libya by the U.S. Air Force as a "new crime fraught with serious threats to universal peace and security," reserving for itself the right to draw even farther-reaching conclusions should the aggressive piratical action committed by Washington be continued. A few days earlier, on 11 April, the government of the USSR pointed out, in connection with the nuclear test made by the United States, the irresponsible nature of the actions of the American government, which were an open challenge not only to the Soviet Union but to the peoples of all continents, to the entire world.

The actions of the United States, which may appear different on the surface, and which triggered the angry and firm reaction of the Soviet Union, have a common denominator. They express most clearly, one could say extremely clearly, the aggressive adventuristic line pursued in American foreign policy, manifested with increasing obviousness in Washington's latest behavior. This was pointed out in the speech by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, at the closing of the 27th Congress. He stated that it is as though someone in the American capital "is simply afraid of the possibility which has appeared of a serious long-term warming of Soviet-American relations



and of the international situation as a whole." This evaluation was entirely confirmed by the subsequent development of events.

Let us recall that in the past few months the peoples, who had been noticing with growing concern the increased threat of destruction of all mankind, seemed to notice light at the end of the tunnel. Hopes were revived after the Soviet-American summit of reaching an agreement which could halt and turn back the brutal flood of ever new nuclear missiles and other types of mass destruction weapons and prevent the appearance of offensive space weapons. On 15 January the Soviet Union suggested a thoroughly thought-out and comprehensively balanced specific and clear plan for the elimination of mass destruction weapons and reducing other armaments to the level of necessary defense. Finally, through its conclusions, ideas and suggestions, the 27th CPSU Congress instilled in all people on earth faith in the possibility of safeguarding the planet, purging life from nuclear nightmares and releasing completely the best qualities of man for constructive purposes.

How did the American capital answer all of this? Soon after Geneva, an anti-Soviet campaign, involving all kinds of fabrications and insulting attacks on the Soviet Union, was mounted with new strength in the United States. With its entire behavior in the international arena and directly in terms of our country, Washington, demonstrating scorn of the legitimate rights and interests of other states, clearly tried to erect a barrier on the way to improvements in the circumstances and to dampen the positive trends and hopes triggered by the Geneva meeting.

The nuclear explosion in Nevada, the testing ground of the United States, took its place among the many unseemly actions of the American administration, indicating its intention, as was stated in the 11 April Soviet government declaration, "To continue to threaten mankind with the nuclear sword and to keep the world in the clutches of fear of universal annihilation." Obviously, the political objective of this blast was unquestionably the intention of "blowing up" the idea itself of a total and universal ban on nuclear weapon tests and to undermine this broad peaceful initiative as well, which had been formulated by the Soviet Union and had earned the warm support of all antiwar forces in the world.

The question of halting tests when entire mountains of explosives have been accumulated in the world has assumed truly prime significance, for banning tests would be the simplest and most efficient step toward halting the nuclear arms race. No improvements in the quality of such weapons could be made without tests or new types of armaments could be developed. Applying strong brakes to the train loaded with megatons of nuclear explosives would provide the time needed to activate the switch to a track leading to their painless elimination.

Aware of its extreme responsibility as a nuclear power, and setting the example of the use of political willpower to the solution of the urgent problems of our time, as early as last summer, in the days marking the 40th anniversary of the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Soviet Union unilaterally stopped all nuclear explosions for military as well as peaceful purposes. At the same time, the Soviet government turned to the U.S.



administration with the urgent call to join in this initiative and thus make the moratorium reciprocal.

As we know, motivated by good intentions, the Soviet side subsequently extended its unilateral moratorium to 31 March 1986, after which it proclaimed the possibility of its further extension should the American side reciprocate. For more than 8 months the USSR observed its voluntarily assumed obligation, while Washington, demonstratively ignoring the hand extended to it, pursued its test program.

The 22 March explosion in the Nevada testing grounds was the answer to Moscow's declaration of its readiness, in meeting the wishes of the heads of six countries, expressed in messages to the CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the U.S. President, not to conduct nuclear tests even after 31 March, should Washington display similar restraint. The suggestion made by the Soviet Union on 29 March of holding an immediate Soviet-American summit meeting to exchange views on terminating tests and issuing instructions on drafting a corresponding agreement was answered not only by the instantaneous rejection of a meeting but also the 10 April nuclear blast. Behaving like gamblers, the American leaders leaked to the press that they were planning two more tests in April alone; formally, U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger confirmed the statement that the United States will continue with its nuclear tests for as long as is "necessary."

It became entirely clear that the U.S. ruling circles, despite loud promises made at the Soviet-American summit and subsequently, are continuing to rely on the pursuit of a militaristic line and on force, with which they intend to continue to threaten other countries and peoples. Under those circumstances, based on the interests of the security of the USSR and its allies, the Soviet government was forced to declare on 11 April that henceforth it considered itself free from its unilateral obligation to abstain from conducting any nuclear tests.

Was the restraint displayed by the Soviet Union useless? Did our country show excessive patience? On the other hand, what contribution did the unilateral Soviet moratorium make to the development of the international situation?

Above all, the restraint and goodwill so convincingly shown by the Soviet Union under the conditions of the continuing modernization of the nuclear missile arsenal and implementation of major military programs by the United States, including within the framework of the so-called "strategic defense initiative," clearly proved to the entire world the desire of the Soviet Union to try all possibilities to influence through the force of its example the position held by the other side. The Soviet moratorium made the problem of ending nuclear tests one of the central problems of world politics and gave a new impetus to the peace movement. Had the American administration found within itself a sufficient amount of sober realism and the political will to respond to the demands of the situation by taking the step expected of it by the nations, a start would have been made to progress in relieving mankind from nuclear weapons. Alas, it found neither within itself, and proved incapable of properly assessing the spirit of the time.

The world witnessed the self-exposure of the promoters of normalizing the international situation American style, and a striking disparity between their words and actions. Their entire arguments justifying a course of continued testing were unable to withstand the serious tests of facts and common sense.

No more than a few days after the nuclear explosion in Nevada, by dropping bombs on Libyan cities Washington once again appeared in the eyes of the world as the main culprit for the escalation of international tension, irresponsibly gambling with the fate of millions of people for the sake of satisfying its imperial ambitions.

The white threads which official U.S. propaganda tried to sew up its version of events became undone the moment they were exposed to the facts which became known to the world public. These facts are such that, as early as last summer, i.e., long before the pretext fabricated by Washington, the decision to "remove" the Libyan state leadership or, as a high American official said, to "remake the map of North Africa" to the advantage of the colonial interests of American imperialism, had been made on the highest levels. Such is the true reason for the present criminal actions of the leaders of U.S. imperialism, and it is precisely this reason that will be recorded in history: those who are guilty of the present piratical actions will not escape their responsibility to the peoples.

The American capital is citing the recent terrorist acts which have taken place in Western European countries as a basis for such actions. It would be difficult to fabricate more shameless "justification" for the barbaric aggression and the blood of peaceful Libyans which was shed, the more so since Washington was unable to present to the world any, absolutely any, proof on which the American authorities could base their efforts to explain their uncivilized behavior. The entire world is familiar with the categorical declaration made by the Libyan leadership of its noninvolvement with any kind of terrorist acts. Who will believe the unsupported claims from across the ocean that the American secret services allegedly have the necessary proof which they are unable to make public?

Having proclaimed some kind of concept of "neoglobalism," backed by the old dream of the American imperialist leadership of world hegemony and the possibility of using the resources of the rest of the world and accumulate superprofits from its plunder in the safes of corporations across the ocean, the present political leaders in the United States are trying to translate this concept into practical actions with the help of aircraft carriers and strategic bombers. Starting with the bandit U.S. attack on Grenada, the history of our time knows of no other such frank and cynical outrage upon international law and human morality as the strike against Libya.

The U.S. leadership exposed the essence of their approach to radical international problems with their armed attack on a small country, undertook a deliberately dangerous aggravation of the situation in the world and greatly worsened Soviet-American relations, making the meeting between the U.S. secretary of state and the USSR minister of foreign affairs, which was planned for May, impossible.

The USSR took a number of steps to prevent the threatened development of events involving Libya. As became known from the message which the CPSU Central Committee general secretary sent to M. Qadhafi, the leader of the Libyan revolution, the Soviet Union repeatedly turned to the American administration with serious warnings concerning the dangerous consequences to the entire international situation of the continuation of its anti-Libyan policy.

Washington ignored such warnings. The entire world community and the United Nations had to make a serious choice, for a passive attitude, not to mention connivance or even complicity with such actions, threaten international relations with major complications and unpredictable consequences.

With all of its recent actions, the administration in Washington is proving that it is precisely it that is the main culprit for the increased tension on earth, criminally and irresponsibly risking the fate of nations. The danger to all nations of attempts to act on the basis of old customs, guided by imperial ambitions and manners, obviously comes from the new realities which nuclear weapons have introduced into the world, carrying within them a storm which could wipe mankind off the face of the earth. The existence of this terrible danger, increasingly realized by mankind, dictates the urgent need to make a decisive and definitive break with a way of thinking and acting of the past, when the use of force in world politics was considered acceptable and admissible.

The military power on which the United States relies in defending the interests of the monopolies and the military-industrial complex and preventing further progressive changes in the world can only worsen the international situation but is unable to maintain an order suitable to imperialism. Such is the insurmountable fact of modern reality.

Loyal to the principle of solidarity with countries and peoples which are repelling the attacks of aggressive imperialist forces and defending their freedom, independence and national dignity, the Soviet Union is making active efforts in the international arena, calling for putting an immediate end to the adventuristic anti-Libyan policy of the American administration. It proclaimed its firm intention to continue to honor its obligations in terms of the further strengthening of Libyan defense capability.

The American capital would be consoling itself with futile illusions should it consider the peaceful intentions and appeals of the Soviet Union as proof of its weakness. Nothing will come of the efforts to frighten our country with American power. No one has ever been successful in trying to influence our country with power and make it abandon its solidarity with all progressive and peace-loving forces in the world. Such will be the case in the future as well.

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BOOK REVIEWS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

SHORT BOOK REVIEWS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 6, Apr 86 (signed to press 16 Apr 86) pp 126-127

[Text] Ye.V. Yakovlev. "Zhizni Pervaya Tret" [First Third of Life]. Documentary story of the Ulyanov family and Vladimir Ilich's childhood and adolescence. Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 239 pp. Reviewed by S. Tsukasov, dr of historical sciences.

Stories about Vladimir Ulyanov's early years in Simbirsk, on the Volga, play an important role in the vast and varied memoir and literary Leniniana. This new study by publicist Ye. Yakovlev of the period of formation of the personality of the future leader of the socialist revolution leads us, line by line, combining features and details from various sources, as we study the correspondence of the Ulyanov family and various recollections and as we consider documents and newspaper reports.

In offering to the readers this type of trip into history, the author sets himself the purpose of explaining and showing the way the character features and traits of Vladimir Ilich were revealed through minor initial events, the traits of the man who was able to structure his life in a state of ideal consistency with concepts he developed in youth concerning what was worthy, true and necessary, and who achieved that which generations of revolutionaries before his had only dreamed about. The documents of that time, contained in each chapter of the book, added to Lenin's biography, form the firm fabric of this historical narration.

Why did all Ulyanov children become revolutionaries? The sources of many spiritual values, the same for all generations, are frequently found in the family: a feeling of personal dignity, respect for others, conscientiousness, sincerity and justice. Such precisely was the Ulyanov family way of life, consistent with the moral foundations of progressive people, and that is precisely the way they raised and brought up their children. The selfless devotion displayed by the father, who was an educator, proved that the honest performance of one's duty to society was incompatible with tsarism. The principles upheld in the family helped to realize better that anything out of the ordinary, daring and thoughtful found itself, consciously or not, in a state of hostile contradiction with the Russian autocratic system. In considering this idea, the author reaches the conclusion that it was the

sharpened understanding of civic-mindedness, above all, that led the young Ulyanov generation to revolution. Echoing Chernyshevskiy, Vladimir Ilich frequently said that "Every decent person must be a revolutionary" (p 135).

History is always a chronicle of human affairs, and practical experience, and revolutionary experience even more so, does not come to people at no cost, as we know. The merit of this book is that its author describes the way, in absorbing the legacy of his predecessors, Vladimir Ulyanov planned his own life and the manner in which consciousness, emotions and will power were closely tied here within a tight knot. The execution of his elder brother was a tragic blow to him. Eyewitnesses confirm, however, that this deep sorrow accelerated the mental efforts of the youngster, who had already found by himself an answer to the question of the revolutionary struggle.

The first third of life is the preface of all that one will accomplish later in life. In our view, the value of this work as research is that the author tries to correlate what Vladimir Ulyanov acquired during his adolescence with the traits, habits and decisions of his mature years.

Initial shoots of Marxist consciousness: In 1887 secondary-school student Ulyanov wrote a composition on the assigned theme "Reasons for the Well-Being of the Life of the People." In returning his notebook, the teacher was to say confidentially: "Excellent, as always. But what are those oppressed classes you are writing about? What is this about oppressed classes?"

Embryos of what years later would become known as Lenin's intransigence: In his senior year he decided to discuss frankly with one of the students his future plans. The latter, however, started talking about how to ordain his life better. "I thought: this one is a careerist and not a revolutionary" (p 206). This was harsh and clear!

Aspirations for the future: He read the banned Pisarev, repeating after him, "One must dream," citing his thought that a person must seriously believe in his dream as he looks at life and conscientiously work to make it come true.

Restraint and endurance, and ability to keep silent even about the storms raging in his soul: Who is not aware of what a Sorma worker said, as recorded by M. Gorkiy: "Ilich's soul must frequently have to be restrained from taking off..." This started when he was young. Then, as well as later, he never referred to the example of his elder brother. Not a word on this subject may be found in all of his works. He avoided mentioning his brother when he accused tsarism, and considered the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary struggle and spoke of the courage of the revolutionaries. The case of the revolution was sufficiently harsh and great to be supported by the mention of someone close.

The historical past is important in itself. Its special meaning, however, is the impact it has on the present and the future. What this book tells the reader is this: be able to develop in the young generation lofty moral principles. The children will then find the right way by themselves, guided by time!



B.M. Kedrov. "Zapechatlennyy Obraz Lenina" [Lenin's Impressed Image]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1986, 239 pp. Reviewed by V. K.

A large number of works of science and fiction, and thousands upon thousands of books of different types and genres have been written on the subject of V.I. Lenin's life and activities. Memoirs play a particular role in Leniniana. Recollections of contemporaries, Lenin's fellow-workers and students, and people who knew Vladimir Ilich well are priceless sources in the study of his biography, the importance of which can only increase with the passage of time. Essays on recollections written in his sunset years by B.M. Kedrov, the noted Soviet philosopher and academician (1903-1985) are a valuable contribution to this area of Leniniana. The reader will find in them new interesting features in the portrait of the great proletarian leader and philosopher.

M.B. Kedrov, the son of a professional revolutionary-bolshevik and Lenin's fellow-worker, who joined the Leninist party as a 15-year-old adolescent and who linked his fate to it for the rest of his life, describes Lenin as he became engraved in his consciousness, increasingly clear and enriched with new features of what he had seen, felt and thought. The book consists of 12 essays covering three cycles: "Through the Eyes of a Small Boy" (1907-1916), "Through the Eyes of an Adolescent" (1917-1919) and "Through the Eyes of a Youth" (1920-1924), from his first meeting with Lenin to the oath taken to follow his behests.

"To me, the author writes, "the image of Lenin and his thoughts and legacy were a star which shone throughout my entire life. To this day, looking back, I realize my rare happiness of having seen and heard Lenin on numerous occasions during the revolutionary years" (pp 5-6).

The main topic in this autobiography is what was directly or indirectly related in the author's life to Lenin and his ideas. The essays include not only interesting details of how, when and under what circumstances had B.M. Kedrov the good fortune of seeing Vladimir Ilich, but also carefully describe the most important things about him, remembered by the author from the stories of Mariya Ilinichna Ulyanova, with whom he worked for a while in PRAVDA, and the recollections of his father and mother and other relatives and acquaintances who knew Lenin well. In describing the past, B.M. Kedrov is strictly truthful. He scrupulously traces the real course of events and writes about what he personally saw, heard and experienced. Anything drawn from latter sources is invariably so stipulated.

It is neither possible nor necessary to tell the content of this interesting and instructive book written in an emotional and picturesque style. Let us cite one event only, which the author remembered for the rest of his life. The last time he saw Lenin was on 19 July 1920, in Leningrad, in the Tauride Palace, at the opening of the 2nd Comintern Congress. With sinking hearts, all delegates and guests were waiting for Lenin to appear on the rostrum, and when he showed up, stepping quickly, as he always did, holding some papers, the hall erupted in an ovation which rose again and again, expressing the infinite love for and loyalty to the leader of the revolution, the genius of mankind. "I saw from Lenin's expression," B.M. Kedrov recalls, "that he was



displeased and was impatiently waiting for the ovation to calm down, considering it to be a waste of time and effort spent on greetings, when it was so very important and necessary to take up quickly the serious discussion of the problems of that same world revolution which was being greeted all too long, like small children, by adults who had assembled here, by leaders of revolutionary parties from different countries. That is what I thought as I looked at Lenin with the same enthusiasm as those in the hall and the gallery" (p 194).

The book naturally ends with a description of the way in his works, written after Lenin's death, the author tried, as best he could, "to the extent of my forces and capabilities," to remain loyal to his oath of defending and disseminating Lenin's ideas and views, and to make a profound study of Lenin's ideological legacy. This has been the topic of many of B.M. Kedrov's articles, pamphlets and monographs, including the textbook "Kak Izuchat Knigu Lenina 'Materializm i Empiriokrititsizm'" [How to Study Lenin's Book "Materialism and Empiriocriticism"], the fourth and most recent printing of which was published in a large edition in 1983. To this day this book, which can be classified as popular science, in the best meaning of the term, is helping thousands upon thousands of readers to experience more profoundly the living soul and creative nature of Marxist-Leninist theory. Kedrov is also the author of studies, such as "Lenin i Revolyutsiya v Yestestvoznanii XX Veka. Filosofiya i Yestestvoznaniye" [Lenin and the Revolution in the Natural Sciences in the 20th Century. Philosophy and Natural Science], "Lenin i Dialektika Yestestvoznaniya XX Veka. Materiya i Dvizheniye" [Lenin and the Dialectics of 20th Century Natural Science. Matter and Motion], "Iz Laboratorii Leninskoy Mysli" [From the Laboratory of Lenin's Thoughts], "Lenin i Nauchnyye Revolyutsii" [Lenin and Scientific Revolutions] and others. The common feature of all these books is the desire to implement Lenin's behests, to reveal the wealth of Lenin's thoughts, carefully to enter his creative laboratory and to understand through the science of philosophy the problems suggested by the great leader. In another book, which he was unable to complete, the author intended to describe the way in which he worked on this noble task during the 60 years following Lenin's death...

The book is dedicated "To the young Leninists, our grandchildren and great-grandchildren." Justifiably, however, it will trigger a lively interest not only among the young but among the broadest possible readers' circles.

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BOOKSHELF

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